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OF BRITISH INDIA
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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF BRITISH INDIA,

FROM

THE MOST REMOTE PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME:

INCLUDING

NARRATIVE OF THE EARLY PORTUGUESE AND ENGLISH VOYAGES, THE REVOLUTIONS IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE, AND THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH POWER: WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ZOOLOGY—BOTANY—CLIMATE, GEOLOGY, AND MINERALOGY:—ALSO MEDICAL OBSERVATIONS,—AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDOO ASTRONOMY—THE TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEYS—THE NAVIGATION OF THE INDIAN SEAS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF STEAM-VESSELS ON THE GREAT RIVERS.

BY

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Hon. East India Company's Service.

WITH A MAP, AND TWENTY-SIX ENGRAVINGS BY BRANSTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

War with Mysore.

Formation of the Kingdom of Mysore—Influence of the Ministers Deoraj and Nunjeraj—Hyder—His Parentage—His early Destitution—Begins to distinguish himself—Mode in which he forms a Body of Adherents—Commands at Dindigul—His Power augmented—Violence of Nunjeraj, who is reduced to Distress—Hyder relieves and then supplants him—His own Danger—Extricates himself, and becomes complete Master of Mysore—Conquest of Bednore—Invasion by the Mahrattas—Conquest of Calicut—The English join a Confederacy against him—The Mahrattas make Peace—Nizam joins Hyder against the English—They invade the Carnatic—Threaten Madras—Battle of Trinomalee—Nizam quits the Alliance—Invasion of Mysore—Successes of Hyder—He overruns the Carnatic—Again threatens Madras—Conclusion of Peace—Another great Inroad of the Mahrattas—Hyder concludes a Treaty with them, and makes farther Conquests—His Resentment against the English—Weak Conduct of the Madras Government—Hyder invades and desolates the Carnatic—Fate of Colonel Baillie's Detachment—Sir Eyre Coote sent from Calcutta—He gains several Advantages—Loss of Colonel Brathwaite's Detachment—Negotiations—Operations on the Western Coast—Death of Hyder—Tippoo succeeds—Dissensions in the Madras Government—Death of Sir Eyre Coote—Peace between England and France—Bednore surrenders to General Mathews—Retaken by the Sultan—Siege of Mangalore—Peace with Tippoo.

In the general breaking up of the Mogul empire and its great viceroyalties, India was reduced almost to a state

of anarchy. Any bold adventurer, who could summon round him the warlike and predatory bands with which that region abounded, might aspire to rule over extensive districts, several of which were entitled to rank as kingdoms. Among such communities a conspicuous place was held by Mysore, the territory of which forms one of the most remarkable of those elevated table-lands that diversify the southern provinces. It stretches more than half-way from sea to sea, closely approaching the Malabar coast on the one side, and on the other reaching to the border of the Carnatic. A circuit of lofty hills, forming a barrier round the country, raise its general surface to the height of almost 3000 feet; a happy circumstance, which secures for it a climate unusually temperate and salubrious. The soil is generally well suited for producing the most valuable grains and fruits, and by a rude but careful cultivation is rendered extremely fertile. This kingdom, under the direction of a daring soldier, rose to such power as to threaten the very existence of the British dominion in the East.

Mysore, down to a recent period, had not been entirely subjected to the Mohammedan sway; it was still ruled by native princes, who paid homage, and sometimes tribute, first to the kings of the Deccan, and after their fall to the Mogul. In the decline of the latter sovereignty both these were withheld, unless when the imperial lieutenant could assemble a force sufficiently strong to wrest payment from the local sovereign. This independence, however, was of little avail to the original rajahs, who, sinking, according to the custom of oriental princes, into voluptuous indolence, allowed the government to pass almost entirely into the hands of their ministers. When the war in the Carnatic first led the English into hostility with Mysore, two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, of whom the latter possessed the more vigorous character, had risen to the head of affairs. At this time, however, there was coming into notice a young adventurer, destined to effect a complete revolution in that country, and in all Southern India.

Colonel Wilks, from native authorities, has given an account of the origin of *Hyder* with a degree of minuteness which it is unnecessary for us to follow. His family appears to have sprung from the northern territory of the Punjaub ; they were of low station, and so poor, as in some instances to subsist upon alms. Futtee Mohammed, the father, reared by a charitable hand, entered the army of a Mysorean chief, and having served with distinction was raised to the rank of a *Naik*, an officer of peons or foot-soldiers. A lady of some quality, whose husband had been robbed and murdered by banditti, being reduced to the utmost want, was prevailed upon to give her two daughters successively in marriage to this adventurer. By the youngest he had two sons, named Shabaz and Hyder ; but, when they had attained only the respective ages of nine and seven, their father and the prince his master were killed in battle. The mother and her boys then fell into the power of a rapacious chief, who not only seized all the property he could find, but employed the most cruel torture to make them yield up their hidden possessions. The widow of Futtee Mohammed, having " lost every thing but her children and her honour," found refuge with her brother Ibrahim, by whose bounty the family were supported. Hyder, accordingly, had his fortune entirely to make ; and for some time he gave but slender promise of reaching any high advancement. He did not even learn to read or write ; and, on arriving at manhood, spent his whole time either in voluptuous riot or in the pleasures of the chase. Thus he reached the age of twenty-seven before he would submit to the restraints even of military service. His elder brother, meantime, had been more meritoriously employed in the army of Nunjeraj, where he distinguished himself, and was raised to a subordinate command ; and he was at length induced to join him while employed in the siege of a fortress called Deonhully, which occupied nine months. The wild youth, having once embarked in this active career, soon displayed daring valour, presence of mind, and all the qualities which constitute an eminent warrior. He received the charge

of a small corps, with a commission to increase its numbers by all the means in his power.

At this time Nunjeraj, having formed an alliance with the French, undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly, of which some account has been already given; and Hyder accompanied him, making diligent use of the opportunities which this campaign afforded, both to distinguish and advance himself. He soon assembled round him a numerous body of those freebooters with which India swarmed, who asked no pay, but trusted solely to the plunder that they might collect under the auspices of an active chieftain. Instead of his giving to them, they gave to him; being required to contribute one-half of all the booty which they might succeed in capturing. They were doubtless very much disposed to evade this partition; but their leader, though unable to write the numerals, could boast of an extraordinary expertness in the operations of mental arithmetic; and he was assisted by Kunde Row, a Braminical accountant of remarkable skill. They established a system which the operative maurauders found it vain to attempt eluding; and the practices of a common London thief may be considered just and honourable, compared with those by which Hyder rose to the rank of an Indian monarch. Not only the great and regular objects of pillage, such as convoys of grain, horses, or herds of cattle, but clothes, turbans, earrings, the most trifling ornaments taken from the persons of females, and even of children, were alike welcome. Nor did his friends enjoy any exemption, provided the theft could be executed with secrecy; and by these means, before he left Trichinopoly, he had collected 1500 horse, 5000 infantry, with elephants, camels, and all the other appendages of a chief of high rank. Having distinguished himself also by his military services, he continued in great favour, and was appointed Foujedar of Dindigul, an important place recently acquired in the country of the Polygars. Here he enlarged his forces and increased his wealth, not only by the plunder of the surrounding territories, but by the most scandalous impositions practised on his own

sovereign, as well as on the commissioners sent to inquire into his conduct. He managed to bring his troops to what was called a *circular* muster, in which ten thousand men counted as 18,000; thereby obtaining pay for a fictitious number, and also at a rate much above his actual expenditure. Having an allowance for every wounded soldier, he imposed on the inspector by presenting many who were perfectly sound, but had their hands and feet tied with bandages dipt in turmeric. By these gross frauds he completely deluded Nunjeraj, who thought it wonderful that so great a force could be maintained, and the war successfully carried on at an expense so moderate.

Hyder had now collected so much strength both of arms and treasure, and had acquired so high a reputation, that he began to aim at the throne of Mysore. His views were greatly favoured by the violent dissensions which prevailed at court. The young rajah, whom Nunjeraj kept as a convenient tool, determined to make an effort to extricate himself from this thraldom, and had already secured the support of a large body of adherents: but having made a premature display of his designs, the palace which he had fortified was attacked and easily carried. The minister, after this victory, though he treated his sovereign with a semblance of respect, caused his supporters to be either thrown into chains, or, having their noses and ears cut off, to be thrust out into the street. Deoraj, indignant at this cruelty on the part of his brother, abandoned his interests, and went to reside in a different quarter of the country.

Nunjeraj himself was soon exposed to an exigency to which a Hindoo prince is almost always liable. His troops began to clamour for a large amount of arrears, and, obtaining no satisfaction, proceeded to the expedient of seating themselves in *dherna* at his gate. According to this institution, which in India is held sacred, he could neither taste food nor drink while the claimants remained in that position; and the soldiers, occupying the entrance of the palace, took care that this rule should

be strictly observed. In this extremity Hyder gladly took occasion to interpose his services. He repaired to Seringapatam, and by seizing all public property within his reach, as well as judiciously collecting the sums due to government, obtained as much money as satisfied the immediate claims of the military. He had also effected an accommodation between the two brothers, which Deoraj, however, did not long survive; and thus by appearing as a disinterested friend to all parties, he became extremely popular. Having raised a large force of his own, and attached to his views the army of Nunjeraj by his exertions for their relief, he soon felt himself to be the real master. His influence was greatly increased by the occurrence of a formidable invasion on the part of the Mahrattas, when, being appointed to the chief command, he brought the contest to an issue, not triumphant indeed, but much more favourable than had been anticipated. He now determined to make his way to the supreme power on the ruin of that chief through whose kindness he had risen to his present elevation. Kunde Row, who had all along been his agent and partisan, opened through the medium of a dowager princess, a woman of talent, a negotiation with the rajah, who, with the view of being enabled to resume the real authority in his own kingdom, agreed to concur in the removal of Nunjeraj. Circumstances favoured their designs. A fresh arrear of pay having accumulated, the troops again established themselves in *dherna* before his gate; when Hyder, instead of studying as before to appease their discontent and relieve his patron's distress, sought only to foment the one and aggravate the other. Nay, with a semblance of grief and reluctance, he concurred with them in stooping to the position of *dherna*. Nunjeraj, thus pressed, at length agreed to retire with a liberal allowance of treasure and troops, and leave the field open to his rival; upon which the rajah, having assumed the government, intrusted the whole administration, civil and military, to Hyder and Kunde Row. It was not likely that the deposed minister should remain long satisfied with

his altered condition. Retiring to the city of Mysore, only nine miles distant from the capital, he recruited his forces with the utmost diligence. A demand was hereupon made, that he should discharge his troops, remove to a greater distance, and be content with a fixed allowance for his private expenses. He indignantly wrote in answer to Hyder :—" I have made you what you are, and now you refuse me a place in which to hide my head. Do what you please ; or what you can. I move not from Mysore." The other immediately proceeded to besiege the city, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered ; and Nunjeraj was obliged to accept the hard conditions imposed by the victor.

Hyder seemed now at the height of power ; yet he was soon after involved in the most serious peril he had ever encountered. The rajah and the dowager were not long in discovering, what indeed they could scarcely fail to foresee, that by this change of affairs they had merely substituted one sovereign minister for another, and were as destitute as ever of any real power. They gained over Kunde Row, who then watched in conjunction with them the opportunity of striking a blow against the man of whom he had been so long the devoted adherent ; and it occurred sooner than might have been expected with one so conversant in all the intricacies of treason. Hyder, suspecting nothing, had dispersed his forces in different directions, and lay encamped with a handful of troops under the walls of Seringapatam. Suddenly, with amazement and consternation, he saw its batteries begin to play upon him ; he called for Kunde Row, his resource in every difficulty, but that person was seen on the ramparts directing the operations of the artillery. Perceiving the snare into which he had fallen, he summoned all his presence of mind in this desperate extremity. Having placed his men under the best shelter that could be obtained, he transmitted the most humble overtures and supplications to his former servant, now his successful rival ; but could obtain no other terms than to be allowed to steal off in the night with a few

soldiers, leaving behind him nearly all his treasures, the accumulated fruit of so much crime and extortion, and even his family, among whom was his son Tippoo, then nine years old. These last, however, were received into Seringapatam, and treated with kindness.

The expelled chief sought refuge first at Anicul and then at Bangalore, places under his immediate command, and of which the governors proved faithful even in this extremity. He soon collected his forces, called in his detachments, and endeavoured, by the reputation of his name, to attract fresh adventurers to his standard. Thus in a few months he took the field against Kunde Row; but that able politician, having still a superior army, brought on a general action, in which Hyder was defeated. His affairs being thus rendered nearly desperate, he had recourse for relief to a very singular quarter. With two hundred horse he hastened during the night to the residence of Nunjeraj, presented himself in a suppliant posture, confessed his guilt and ingratitude, and intreated his former patron to resume his place, and treat him again as a servant. All historians express astonishment that the fallen minister should have been won over by protestations so manifestly insincere; but we are to consider, that by closing with this proposal he obtained perhaps the only chance of regaining his former power and dignity.

Upon this successful stratagem Hyder founded another still deeper. He affixed the seal of Nunjeraj to a number of letters, seeming to contain a treasonable correspondence, addressed to the principal officers in Kunde Row's army. They were sent by an emissary, who appeared to exercise the strictest vigilance lest they should fall into the hands of that chief, yet took effectual means that they should be intercepted. This leader, with all his experience and profound policy, was completely deceived; and seeing himself, as he imagined, betrayed by his own followers, he abruptly quitted the camp and hastened to Seringapatam. The army was thus thrown into a state of complete disorganization, when Hyder, attacking them unexpectedly, put them

to a total rout, capturing guns, stores, baggage, and all the infantry, who were then incorporated with his own troops; the cavalry alone by an early flight effected their escape. Kunde Row discovered the deceit, and soon began to rally his men, when his antagonist had recourse to another artifice. He lay several days in apparent inaction, as if not intending to follow up his victory; then suddenly, by a rapid night-march, came on his opponents at unawares, and gained a signal advantage. After reducing many of the surrounding places, he advanced against the remaining force of 5000 or 6000 cavalry intrenched under the guns of Seringapatam. By entering into a feigned treaty, he lulled anew the suspicions of his adversaries, who suffered themselves to be again completely surprised, with nearly the entire loss of their horses and baggage. All Hyder's enemies were now at his mercy; still he wished that the terms which he meant to exact should appear as if offered and pressed upon him by the vanquished rajah. He sent a message, merely soliciting that the defeated general should be delivered up, and the large balance due to himself from the state be liquidated; adding that his highness might then either continue him in his service, or allow him to seek his fortune elsewhere. He privately transmitted, however, an intimation as to what he would be pleased to accept; and accordingly, under the impulse of necessity, the rajah was at length compelled to entreat the victor to relieve him from the toil of governing Mysore, and for that purpose to draw all its revenues, except three lacks for his own use and one for Nunjeraj; to which conditions the victor, with well-feigned reluctance, submitted. The sovereign and the ladies of the palace joined in earnest entreaty for mercy to Kunde Row; the other replied, that he would treat him like a paroquet, by which they understood a favourite or pet; but he literally fulfilled his insidious promise, by enclosing the unhappy man for life in an iron cage, and sending him a daily portion of rice and milk. It is needless to add, that the lack of rupees was all that Nunjeraj obtained

of the promises lavished upon him by the conqueror at the period of negotiation.

Hyder, having thus become the real sovereign of Mysore, applied himself to extend his sway in every direction. He made himself master of Sera, Chittledroog, and other districts properly included in that country; but whose rajahs and polygars, during the late troublous period, had rendered themselves in a great measure independent. His richest prize, however, was afforded by the conquest of Bednore, a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5000 feet above the level of the sea, where the profuse rains nourish magnificent forests and copious harvests. Its sequestered position had hitherto preserved it from invasion, and its rulers had applied themselves most diligently to that chief object of ambition in India, the accumulation of treasure. On the approach of the Mysorean army, the timid inhabitants of the capital, after setting fire to the palace, fled into the adjoining woods, leaving a splendid city eight miles in circumference entirely open to plunder. Wilkes estimates the booty, we suspect with much exaggeration, at twelve millions sterling; though Hyder himself, it is said, always owned that its capture was the principal instrument of his future greatness.

But this successful career soon met with an interruption. Madoo Rao, one of the most renowned generals among the Mahrattas, entered Mysore with an immense host of cavalry. They covered the face of the country, and so completely cut off all communication, that even the vigilant Hyder was surprised by the appearance of their main body, when he imagined them to be still at a distance. He was defeated, and after several unsuccessful attempts, during a campaign of some length, to retrieve his affairs, was compelled to purchase peace by extensive cessions, and the payment of thirty-two lacks of rupees. That tumultuary horde then retired, and left him at liberty to pursue his farther acquisitions. He directed his arms against Calicut, still ruled by a personage entitled the zamorin, and esteemed the prin-

cipal maritime city on that coast. Its troops opposed him with the same desultory but harassing warfare by which they had baffled the attack of Albuquerque. The rude soldier, however, forced his way through these obstacles and approached the capital, when the zamorin, despairing of being able to prolong the resistance, came out with his ministers and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. He was favourably received, and on his offering ransom to the amount of £190,000 sterling, the invader agreed to abstain from farther aggression. But this did not prevent him from attacking and carrying Calicut by surprise; and, as the money was produced very slowly, he sought to hasten payment by placing the sovereign and his nobles under close restraint, and even by applying torture to the latter. The prince, dreading that he would be exposed to a similar indignity, shut and barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it, and before the flames could be extinguished, he had perished. Several of his attendants are said to have thrown themselves into the burning mansion, and suffered the same fate. A conquest achieved by such deeds of violence soon excited a fierce rebellion, which was suppressed only by severe executions, and by the transportation of a great number of the people to a remote quarter of Mysore.

These rapid successes, and the additional resources derived from them, alarmed the great powers of Southern India. Nizam Ali, subahdar of the Deccan, and Madoo Rao, the Mahratta commander, united in a confederacy to crush the assailant; and the English agreed to place an auxiliary force at the disposal of the former, with the vague commission "to settle the affairs of his government in every thing that is right and proper." It was distinctly understood, that they were to co-operate in the invasion of Mysore; and Colonel Smith proceeded to Hydrabad to arrange measures for that purpose. This seems to have been a very doubtful policy, when the Mahrattas alone were fully equal to contend with Hyder; so that the two parties might have been advan-

tageously left to weaken each other by mutual warfare; whereas the aggrandizement of the one by the downfal of the other tended directly to overthrow the balance of power.

The three allied armies began to move early in 1767, but in a straggling and ill-combined manner. A month before the two others were ready, Rao had covered with clouds of cavalry the high plains of Mysore; and his force alone was more than Hyder dared to encounter in the field. This last endeavoured to pursue a desultory mode of defence, causing the grain to be buried, the wells to be poisoned, the forage to be consumed, and the cattle to be driven away. Every expedient proved unavailing to stop the progress of these rapid and skilful marauders: their horses fed on the roots of grass; by thrusting iron rods into the earth they discovered from the sound, the resistance, and even from the smell, the places where corn was deposited; while the cattle, to whatever spot they might be removed, were traced out and seized. The Mysorean leader, finding them already in the heart of his dominions, where he had no means of arresting their progress, determined at any price to detach them from the confederacy. Apajee Ram, a Bramin, was sent, and opened a negotiation in a style much differing from European diplomacy. He was received in full durbar by the Mahratta general, who declared his determination not to treat with an opponent who held his legitimate prince in such unworthy captivity; and a murmur of approbation ran through the assembly. The envoy humbly confessed the charge, but took leave to add, that his master, whenever an opposite example was set by his betters, would immediately follow it. Every one now recollected that Madoo Rao held the descendant of Sevajee in exactly the same thraldom as the rajah of Mysore was kept by Hyder; the approving sound was changed into suppressed laughter; the Mahratta chief hung down his head; and a serious negotiation was immediately commenced. He consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacks of rupees, to quit the country and

withdraw entirely from the grand alliance. He had gained his end; and when Colonel Tod was sent to urge him to fulfil his engagements, the whole court laughed in that officer's face.

Colonel Smith, meantime, supported only by the poor, ill-paid, and undisciplined troops of the nizam, had entered Mysore. He soon began to suspect that this would prove a very futile expedition; and in fact it was about to assume a character much more disastrous than he anticipated. His Indian ally had taken umbrage on various grounds at the English presidency. They had procured from the Mogul, now a merely nominal potentate, the grant of the valuable territory of the Northern Circars. Mohammed Ali, their confederate, whom they had raised to be Nabob of the Carnatic, had meantime advanced pretensions to the dominions and rank of the nizam, which the latter suspected the British of secretly favouring. Hyder therefore employed Maphuz Khan, brother to that chief, who, actuated by the fraternal jealousies usually prevalent in India, had come over to the Mysorean interest, to open a secret correspondence with the subahdar. This last was easily persuaded, that he should most successfully realize his views of aggrandizement by entering into a league with Hyder against Mohammed and that foreign power, of which he was rendering himself the instrument; and accordingly these two parties, who were so lately vowing each other's destruction, united in an offensive treaty against our countrymen. Colonel Smith, both from his own observation and from notices given by his faithful ally, soon obtained a clear perception of this change in the position of affairs. It bore rather a serious aspect, considering the distance to which he had advanced into the enemy's territory; but on his remonstrances the nizam concurred in the propriety of his retreat, only desiring that a corps of three battalions should remain with him,—a request which was very unaccountably complied with. Yet the Indian prince, on this occasion, displayed honourable feelings very unusual with persons of the same class.

Before commencing hostilities he allowed the whole detachment to depart, except five companies, and afterwards these also, without the least molestation.

Colonel Smith, seeing himself now threatened by the united attack of these two great powers, with an army of 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while he himself had only 6000 foot and 1000 horse, limited his efforts to fortifying the passes of the Ghauts by which they might be expected to descend into the Carnatic; but, from ignorance of the local positions, he left undefended those very openings which were the most favourable for their purpose. Through these they very easily penetrated, and, threatening the rear of his column, obliged him instantly to fall back. The confederates attacked him near Changama, but were completely repulsed; though, in consequence of their horsemen having plundered the slender store of rice belonging to his army, this victory was converted almost into a defeat, and he was obliged to retreat day and night till he reached Trinomalee. The war now assumed a most alarming aspect. The British officer indeed had his force raised to ten thousand, for the most part regular infantry, which gave him a superiority in the field; but his cavalry were few and inefficient, while the enemy covered all the country with the finest light-horse in the world, which cut off all his supplies, and left him no command over any spot beyond that on which he was actually encamped. At the same time Tippoo, son to Hyder, afterwards so deadly an enemy to the English name, then only a boy of seventeen, made a rapid excursion with 5000 horse to the vicinity of Madras, and had nearly surprised several of the European residents in their country-houses. The Indian princes expected to see their adversary reduced to extremity by the want of provisions; but this was averted by the discovery of some hidden stores, which, according to national custom, had been buried in the earth. The nizam, imprudent and impatient, insisted that they should no longer wait the slow operation of famine, but bring on a general action. They made the

attack at Trinomalee, confident in their superior numbers and vast masses of cavalry; but Smith, by an able movement round a mountain, and by the skill with which his artillery was served, completely baffled the efforts of this great though irregular host. The pursuit was marked by a singular occurrence. The Indian chief, according to his absurd practice, had ranged in the rear a long line of elephants, on which his favourite ladies, seated in pomp, surveyed the battle. When the field was seen to be lost, orders were sent that this cavalcade should retreat at full speed; but a female voice, issuing from a splendid vehicle borne by one of these animals, exclaimed, "This elephant has not been instructed so to turn, he follows the standard of the empire!" The consequence was, that before the flag passed several of these huge quadrupeds had fallen, and the balls were already flying among the fair fugitives.

The nizam, on witnessing these disasters and the disappointment of all his hopes of aggrandizement at the expense of the English, began to waver in the alliance. Another check sustained near Amboor, and the invasion of his territory by a detachment from Bengal, confirmed him in the resolution to withdraw himself from Hyder, and agree to a separate treaty, which was concluded on the 23d February 1768. Under the pressure of such circumstances he obtained tolerable terms; but was obliged to confirm the grant of the Circars made by the Mogul. There were to be paid to him, however, five lacks annually; not in name of tribute for this district, but as a friendly subsidy. Even from this there was to be deducted, for the expenses of the war, 25 millions, at the rate of three every year. Nor was any opposition to be made to the appropriation by the British of a considerable extent of Hyder's dominions.

The presidency of Madras felt now the highest exultation, and sent immediate orders to Colonel Smith to enter Mysore, and strike a blow at the centre of Hyder's power. That officer represented the impossibility of subsisting his army in the elevated and barren territory

around Bangalore, which upon this plan must have been the first object of attack. He rather proposed, in the first instance, to occupy the fertile country extending along the foot of the Ghauts, and make it the basis of future movements. The council adopted the very questionable policy of combining these two plans; directing Smith to march upon Bangalore, while Colonel Wood with a separate detachment should conduct operations in the district adjoining the mountains. With this scheme they coupled the very injudicious measure of sending two commissioners to direct and assist, but more properly to obstruct the proceedings of the commander, while they engaged Mohammed Ali, the most unfit of all persons, to collect the revenue of the conquered territory. This plan was meantime favoured by the advance of some British troops from Bombay, who had reduced Mangalore, Onore, and other important places on the western coast. Colonel Wood was thus enabled to overrun all the territory against which his arms were directed, capturing every post of consequence, while Smith arrived in the vicinity of Bangalore, and made preparations to besiege that important key of the kingdom. Thus in a few months Hyder had lost one-half of his dominions, and saw the centre of his power menaced. Having, however, in the first instance, directed his whole force against the western districts, he succeeded in completely retrieving affairs there, and driving the English out of all the places which they had occupied. He then returned to the eastward to make head against the Madras army, which, though it had subdued an extensive tract of country, held it by a very precarious tenure. His numerical force was indeed much diminished by the defection of the nizam; but the remaining troops, being entirely under his own guidance, proved nearly as effective. The presidency incessantly urged Smith to besiege Bangalore, as the only step by which the war could be brought to a crisis; but he replied that it was impossible to do so without previously defeating Hyder's army; and though that chief continually hovered round

and harassed the English, he skilfully shunned a general action. Sensible, however, of the great superiority of his opponents, he showed a willingness to submit to very considerable sacrifices. He even offered to relinquish the frontier district of Baramahl, and to pay ten lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war; but the leading persons at the presidency, still buoyed up with hopes of conquest, made such enormous demands, both of money and territory, as confirmed his resolution to persevere in arms. The council, on pretence of consulting Smith, recalled him to Madras, leaving the command with Colonel Wood, who had gained reputation by his rapid subjection of the lower districts. This officer, however, proved himself wholly unable to contend with Hyder. Being surprised at Baugloor, he was obliged to retreat with confusion and loss, and must have suffered greatly but for the prompt arrival of Major Fitzgerald with a reinforcement. He was forthwith sent a prisoner to Madras, and the charge devolved on the officer just named.

The British force had now been considerably weakened by remaining so long in the open field, insufficiently supplied with food, and exposed to the unfavourable influences of the climate. The Indian chief, who had gained continual accessions of strength, determined on a bold movement, not in front of the English, but by one of his circuitous marches among the hills. First his general, and then himself, aided by their thorough knowledge of the passes of the Ghauts, descended suddenly into the level country of Coimbetoor and Baramahl, with the conquest of which our countrymen had been so highly elated. He found the Company's troops scattered in numerous small bodies, and occupying indefensible positions, which fell one after another, almost without resistance, while several were betrayed by the native commandants; so that in six weeks he had re-annexed to his territory all these boasted acquisitions. On this occasion a detachment under Captain Nixon being surrounded by the whole force of the enemy, was, after a gallant resistance, almost entirely destroyed. Hyder

then marched upon Eroad, which was under the command of Captain Orton, whom he invited to come to his tent under promise of safety. This officer, with a rashness which Wilks can only account for by supposing that he had previously dined, went and placed himself in the power of his enemy. The rajah, it is said, always piqued himself upon not breaking faith without some plausible ground; but there happened to be in the English army a captain named Robinson, who was formerly a prisoner and released on his parole, which he had not scrupled to violate. On this pretext he not only detained Orton, but induced him, by force or threats, to sign an order to Robinson to surrender the important fortress of Eroad,—a mandate which this last thought it his duty to obey. The same pretext was used for breaking the capitulations with the troops in the garrison of Caveriporam, and sending them to Seringapatam, where they were immured in dungeons, and treated with the utmost severity.

Hyder, in his triumphant progress, now began to menace the rear of his adversaries; and the English, awakening from their dreams of conquest, saw the depôts and posts on which their military operations rested in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Their pride was so far lowered, that they despatched Captain Brooke to attempt a negotiation with the sovereign of Mysore. The latter received him extremely well, and seems to have explained his views with a candour not usual in the tortuous proceedings of oriental policy. He declared that it was, and had always been, his earnest wish to be on good terms with the British, an object defeated solely by themselves and their worthless ally, Mohammed Ali. He confessed that this desire was prompted by an enlarged view of his own interest, especially as being liable to a periodical visitation from the Mahrattas, whose usual time was now fast approaching. He frankly owned to Brooke, that as he was quite unable to resist both them and the English, he might find it advisable in such an extremity to form a union

with them against his European enemies,—an arrangement in which he would find little difficulty. He desired him, therefore, to assure the council that no time must be lost in making him either friend or foe. The presidency accordingly sent Mr Andrews, an individual greatly in their confidence, to the Indian camp; but still their terms were too high. Hostilities were resumed, and Smith being restored to the command, checked the progress of the marauder, who, however, engaged at last in a most daring enterprise. With a body of 6000 chosen cavalry, and 200 picked infantry, he made a rapid sweep of 130 miles in less than four days, and appeared to the astonished council within five miles of Madras, who, then thoroughly awakened from their dreams of ambition, were seized with the deepest feelings of despondence. The British army could easily have returned in time to secure the fort; and they had only to fear the plunder of the country-seats, and perhaps of the native town, though this last danger is considered as doubtful; but they agreed at once to the demands which he made, that Colonel Smith should be ordered to suspend his march, and that M. Dupré, nominated as the future governor, should come out to settle the basis of a peace. In the present temper of the belligerents, the negotiation was neither long nor difficult; a treaty was concluded in April 1769, on the condition of placing the possessions of both parties, with scarcely an exception, on the same footing as before the war. Hyder solicited an alliance offensive and defensive; the English granted only the last, which, however, was found to involve them in all the responsibility that, by refusing the first, they had sought to escape.

Having thus terminated with advantage and glory this great contest with the British, he felt himself better prepared to encounter a still more formidable enemy. The Mahrattas, under Madoo Rao, entered his dominions with a force supposed to be at least double that of his army, and led by able commanders. He endeavoured a second time to check them by laying waste his territory;

but the invaders, as before, surmounted every obstacle, and, forming a regular plan of conquest, reduced successively all his strong places, and committed the most monstrous cruelties. At one fortress, which had made an obstinate resistance, the barbarian leader ordered the noses and ears of the garrison to be cut off; and sending for the governor, asked if he was not conscious of deserving to be thus mutilated and disgraced? The other replied:—"The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace yours;" an answer, the truth of which so forcibly struck the Mahratta, that he dismissed him uninjured.

Madoo Rao being obliged, by severe indisposition, to yield the command to Trimbuck Mama, Hyder determined to make a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position covered by a range of rugged mountains. The new general did not attempt directly to force this camp, but pointed against it day after day such a harassing cannonade, that the Mysorean chief at length determined to fall back upon his capital. He began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of the enemy; but the rash discharge of a gun by one of the officers betrayed the secret, and the numerous squadrons of Mahratta horse were soon in full pursuit. A most extraordinary scene then ensued. The critical condition of the army had not prevented Hyder from indulging in habits of evening inebriety, to which he had become addicted, and which now rendered him wholly unfit for directing the movement of the troops. Having in this state met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; then seizing a thick cane, applied it to his back with such vehemence, that the marks remained visible for upwards of a week. The prince, burning with indignation, went to the head of his division, dashed to the ground his turban, sword, and splendid robe, exclaiming:—"My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Allah and his prophet that I draw no sword to-day." The army, thus left to itself, soon became a crowd of scattered fugitives, and their bold leader, while the Mahrattas were busied in plunder,

mounted a fleet horse, and almost alone reached Seringapatam. Tippoo, having assumed an humble garb, begged his way undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, and arrived the same night in the capital.

Trimbuck Mama immediately marched upon that city, and seemed on the very point of putting a period at once to the career of the great usurper. The Mahrattas, however, possessed no skill adequate to the siege of so strong a fortress. They kept up during a month a daily cannonade, which produced no effect, while the resources of Hyder were constantly recruited. He now proceeded to operate with success on their rear, and, after a tedious and desultory warfare of a year and a half, prevailed on them to accept the terms which he offered; namely, the cession of a great part of his northern dominions, and the immediate payment of fifteen lacks of rupees, and fifteen more *hereafter*,—a term of which he fully understood the value.

The English during this war did not fulfil their engagement to aid the Mysorean ruler in the defence of his dominions. After it was concluded, the Company wrote to their principal officers, strongly condemning their interference in the wars of the Carnatic, the formation of any alliances which might involve them in hostilities, and particularly the supplying arms and ships to Hyder, or any other native power. To enforce these views, Sir John Lindsay was sent out as a sort of minister plenipotentiary, to act as a check upon the council. He, however, soon went much beyond his commission, for he formed a close intimacy with the nabob Mohammed Ali, whom he joined in urging that the presidency should embrace the cause of the invaders. They successfully resisted so gross a violation of their treaty; but these opposite impulses rendered the whole conduct of the British weak and vacillating. The Court, on being made acquainted with the doings of Sir John, superseded him, and appointed in his place Admiral Harland, commander of the fleet, to whom such instructions were given as were expected to prevent a similar collision. But he, neglecting

their advice, proceeded in the very same manner, opening treaties of his own accord, and urging to warlike operations. The Court at length gave up this ill-judged attempt to check the council by a separate and co-ordinate power. The anxiety of the Company to follow a neutral and pacific system, and the total absence of any wish for a farther acquisition of territory, was, however, strongly impressed upon them.

Hyder, as soon as he had extricated himself from this invasion, employed the most active exertions to regain his lost territory; turning his attention first to the Malabar coast, the communication with which could only be maintained through the intervening district of Coorg. He suddenly invaded that country, which he found almost wholly unprepared, and made a singular display of barbarian cruelty. He proclaimed a reward of five rupees for every head presented to him, and sat in state to receive and pay for these bloody trophies; but after seven hundred heads had been brought in, there appeared two with such peculiarly fine and handsome features, that he was moved with unwonted pity, and ordered the carnage to cease. Coorg was subdued; and the once powerful state of Calicut, distracted by internal commotions, scarcely made any resistance. His next aim was to recover the extensive territories wrested from him by the Mahrattas; and in this he was much favoured by the distractions in which that powerful confederacy was soon involved. Madoo Rao, their warlike chief, died in 1772, and after a short interval was succeeded by Ragonaut Rao, better known under the name of Ragoba, whose authority, however, was by no means fully acknowledged. The Mysorean prince, therefore, fearlessly entered and overran a large portion of the ceded country. Ragoba, indeed, hastened to its defence, but being recalled by a violent insurrection, which ended in the overthrow of his power, he concluded a treaty allowing Hyder to occupy all the provinces south of the Kistna. Another army sent afterwards under Hurry Punt, the leader of the party which ex-

pelled Ragoba, penetrated into Mysore; but the rajah, having gained over a detachment of the Mahratta troops, baffled all his attempts, and obliged him to desist.

Immediately after the treaty with Ragoba, the indefatigable Hyder began operations against a number of independent chiefs, some of whom possessed fortresses on the borders, and others within the limits of his territory. Among the most remarkable of these was Gooty, the castle of Morari Rao, a fierce Mahratta freebooter, who had long acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of India. This stronghold consisted of numerous works, occupying the summit of several rocky hills. After the lower stations had been reduced, the upper made so obstinate a defence that a treaty was agreed on, granting peace on the payment of a large amount of treasure. A young man sent as a hostage, being well entertained in Hyder's camp, was induced to betray the secret cause of submission, namely, that there was only a supply of water for three days in the fort. He took no notice at the moment; but soon afterwards contriving to find a defect in the articles, he renewed the siege, and Morari Rao in the end was compelled to surrender at discretion. The most obstinate resistance was experienced from the Polygar of Chittledroog, who ruled over a warlike and fanatic tribe, called Beder. They had reared in the most elevated part of their citadel a shrine to Cali or Doorga, the Indian goddess of destruction, and they firmly believed that, so long as it was duly served, the place would never fall. Every Monday morning solemn devotions were performed to the goddess; then a loud blast with the bugle was blown, upon which the garrison rushed forth in a desperate sally, with the object chiefly of procuring human heads to be ranged in pyramidal rows before the dread temple of the destroying deity. Although, contrary to every military rule, they thus gave to the enemy full warning of the period of attack, it was made with such fury, and at such various points, that the goddess was scarcely ever defrauded of her bloody offerings; and when the place fell, two thou-

sand heads were found piled in front of her portal. Hyder was obliged by Mahratta invasion to abandon the siege, which, however, he afterwards renewed; but it was only through treason that the governor was obliged to own that the mighty spell of Cali was broken, and to admit an enemy within the impregnable bulwarks of Chittledroog.

Deep discontent against the English was now rankling in the mind of Hyder. He had, as formerly mentioned, earnestly courted their alliance; for his own purposes doubtless, but on the fair and honourable principle that the parties should mutually support each other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. Their conduct, however, in the late war, when they saw his very existence so long endangered without making a single effort to relieve him, seems to have thoroughly disgusted him. He gave up every hope of profiting by their alliance, and even centred all his prospects of aggrandizement in their destruction. The Mahrattas again, whose councils had undergone a complete change, instead of threatening further invasion, sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and a treaty preparatory to that object was accordingly concluded. By a singular fatality, the views of the government at Madras had been altered in the opposite direction, having become sensible of the advantages which might be derived from a union with the chief of Mysore. They even made overtures for a close alliance, with promises of co-operation in case of attack from any foreign enemy. His irritation, however, seems to have been only heightened, by having that aid which was denied at his utmost need thus pressed upon him at a moment when he could maintain his own ground. At this crisis the war, consequent upon the American contest, broke out between France and England, and was extended to India. The subjects of Louis, with their usual diplomatic activity, immediately opened a communication with Hyder, whom they found most favourably disposed towards them; and he engaged accordingly in that confederacy

to which his house so long adhered, and with results so fatal to their own interests.

As soon as hostilities commenced, the English government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India without any exception. Pondicherry soon fell; to which conquest no opposition was made by Hyder, who even pretended to congratulate them on their success. When, however, they announced their intention of reducing Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected; urging, that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British not considering this argument of sufficient weight to deter them from attacking a French fort, sent a body of troops who speedily reduced the place, although the ambitious warrior gave all the aid he could at the moment supply, in order to defend it. It has been supposed, that his resentment at this step was one cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England; but the real motives of his conduct probably lay deeper, and were connected with a more extended view of his peculiar interests.

The government at Madras, while they adopted a more judicious policy in regard to the chief of Mysore, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure, and could not be convinced that they were in any danger from his hostility. Yet he made no secret of his feelings, and seems even to have amused himself by trying how far he could proceed without rousing them from their security. They sent to him Swartz, the Danish missionary, a highly respectable and amiable man, whom he received with kindness; and on his return intrusted him with a letter, recounting a long list of wrongs sustained from the English, adding the ominous words—"I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter." Mr Gray was afterwards despatched to him, but seemingly very ill provided for an Indian mission, having no presents except a saddle and a gun, both of bad workmanship, which were disdainfully refused.

He was lodged, or rather imprisoned, in a miserable shed near the capital, and annoyed with the impertinence of one of the court-menials. He obtained only formal audiences; while Mohammed Osmân, a confidential officer, brought to him messages by no means of an encouraging tenor. Hyder asked, "Of what avail were treaties? Of the treaty of 1769 the English had broken every article; his affairs had been reduced to the brink of ruin by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances." As it was likewise evident that an expedition on a great scale was preparing in Mysore, Mohammed Ali represented to the government in the strongest manner the impending danger, and the necessity of taking the most vigorous steps to prevent it. But his system of policy was no longer in favour with the council; every thing hostile to the rajah was disregarded as coming from one who had long misled them on this subject. The government were therefore completely unprepared for the tremendous blow with which they were about to be struck.

Early in June 1780, after prayers had been offered in the mosques, and the solemn ceremony called *jebbum* performed by the Hindoos, for the success of the proposed expedition, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and found mustered on the frontier perhaps the finest army that had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted of 28,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 troops of the class called peons, many of whom, however, were veterans,—in all 83,000, besides 2000 rocketmen, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began a career of devastation in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful suffering. A few days after, while the ruling party in the council would scarcely admit the existence of danger, black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen approaching within a few miles of Madras. Colonel Wilks, however, controverts the idea generally received that the whole country was

reduced to ashes. This would have been contrary to Hyder's object in pursuing a plan of conquest; he merely drew round the capital a wide circle of desolation, calculating that a tedious blockade would be necessary to reduce so strong a city.

As soon as the first alarm of the government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance, which, with an empty treasury, disunited councils, and the impossibility of placing any confidence in Mohammed Ali, appeared extremely deficient. The first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the nabob, who, it was not doubted, would surrender them to the enemy on the first attack. Several fell; but two were saved by the exertions of very young British officers. Lieutenant Flint, with a corps of 100 men, having proceeded to Wandewash, was refused admittance by the killedar or governor, who had already arranged the terms on which the fortress was to be given up. Flint, however, having with four of his men procured access, seized the commandant, and, aided by the well-disposed part of the garrison, made himself master of the stronghold.

The next object was to unite into one army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced far into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This corps amounted to 2800, the main body not exceeding 5200. Lord Macleod, who had recently arrived in India and held the actual command, strongly, and apparently with reason, recommended that the point of junction should be fixed in front of Madras, not in the heart of a province entirely occupied by the enemy. Sir Hector Monro, the commander-in-chief, however, undertook to unite the armies at Conjeveram, fifty miles distant from the capital; but Baillie, in order to reach that place, was obliged to take an inland route, in which he was exposed to the hazard of being attacked by the whole force of the invader. He was detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur,

and, after effecting his passage, was assailed by a large detachment under Tippoo, which he repulsed, but not without sustaining some loss. Hyder then, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector, interposed his whole army between the two English divisions. They were then only fourteen miles distant, within hearing of each other's cannon, and, could they have acted in concert, would have easily defeated the irregular host opposed to them. Baillie wrote, urging Sir Hector to join him; but this commander, conceiving that he would thereby lose Conjeveram with its small supply of provisions and stores, chose rather to send to his support Colonel Fletcher, at the head of 1000 soldiers,—a most hazardous movement across a country already covered by the enemy's detachments. Yet Fletcher, with great skill and activity, and by deceiving his own deceitful guides, succeeded, amid every danger, in joining the corps that he was ordered to assist, which he raised to upwards of 3700 men. Hyder burst into the most furious invectives against his officers for not having prevented this union; and the French, conceiving it preparatory to a combined attack by these two divisions, exhorted the chief, by a speedy retreat, to shun a general action. The rajah had formed a juster estimate of those with whom he was to contend. Colonel Baillie first attempted a night-march, by which a great extent of ground might have been gained, and where, in case of a battle, superior discipline would have given him the advantage; but meeting with some obstacles, he determined, contrary to Fletcher's advice, to delay till morning. Departing at dawn, he soon found himself opposed by the entire strength of the Mysore army. The English troops were at first harassed only by flying detachments; but when they came into a narrow and exposed part of the road, upwards of fifty pieces of cannon began to play upon them with the most terrible effect. The several narratives vary somewhat as to the farther issues of this dreadful day. According to official and other statements, our countrymen repulsed repeated

charges with prodigies of valour. Their bravery indeed is nowhere denied; but private accounts assert that Baillie, quite unaccustomed to a separate command, and fleeing in an agitated manner from post to post, took no fixed position, and did not avail himself of his real advantages. The grenadiers called out to be led on, and not exposed without the means of resistance to the destructive fire of the enemy. Suddenly two tumbrils exploded, spreading dismay, and threatening a failure of ammunition. The Mysorean cavalry, headed by a desperado named Sindia, made a furious onset, by which the whole sepoy force was broken, and mingled with the enemy in inextricable confusion. The handful of British troops still kept their ground; but as no hope could be entertained of their being able to withstand the whole army of Hyder, Baillie advanced into the front, waved his handkerchief, and concluded that he had obtained the promise of quarter. But when the enemy rushed in, either disregarding their pledge, or indignant at a straggling fire which was still kept up by the sepoys, they treated the troops with the utmost cruelty, stabbing those already wounded, and even women and children. The only humanity exercised was through the exertions of the French officers Lally and Pimorin. The greater part of the corps perished on the field; all the rest, including 200 Europeans, were taken prisoners.

Such was this miserable catastrophe, on which Colonel Wilks hesitates not to pronounce, that if either of the commanders had followed the dictates of ordinary experience, both corps would have been saved; and if the two chiefs had acted well, the discomfiture would have been on the side of the enemy. Sir Hector approached within two miles of the fatal spot; but observing the firing cease, and no return made to his signals, he withdrew; and, on learning the fate of the detachment, fell back to Chingleput, where he was joined by a smaller party under Colonel Cosby, who had conducted his retreat with ability and success. The prisoners were conveyed to Seringapatam, where they were used with the greatest

inhumanity. All those not wounded were put in irons, and lodged in a kind of open shed, with sleeping-places at the corners, supplied simply with mats. Only sixpence a-day was allowed for food, and no medicine was provided under the severe maladies caused by this mode of life, and to which many fell victims.

The first advantage that the ruler of Mysore drew from this victory was the reduction of Arcot, which, after a respectable defence, surrendered on the 3d November 1780. He held also in close siege Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other important bulwarks of the Carnatic.

The intelligence of this signal disaster being conveyed to the chief seat of government at Calcutta, Mr Hastings immediately took the most active steps to repair it. Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer enjoying the highest military reputation of any in India, was appointed to the chief command, and sent from Bengal with 560 European troops, while a corps of sepoys prepared to march along the coast as soon as the rainy season should terminate. At the same time the governor of Madras was suspended, and his place in course supplied by the senior member of council, who had always opposed his inactive policy; but the funds for the prosecution of the war were placed in the hands of the new commander-in-chief.

General Coote, on arriving at the presidency, and preparing to take the field, found at his disposal not more than 7000 men, of whom 1700 only were Europeans. Yet with this force, so far from fearing, he anxiously desired to encounter in the field the numerous, brave, and well-commanded troops of the enemy. What he dreaded was the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder in a country which he had already converted almost into a desert. The English army, when it left Madras, was like a ship departing on a long voyage, or a caravan preparing to cross the deserts of Arabia. Every thing by which life could be supported must be carried along with it; and the soldiers, continuing to depend on the capital alone for supply, were in danger of absolute famine. As they

moved in a close body through this desolated region, never occupying more than the ground which they actually covered, clouds of the enemy's cavalry hovered round them; who, finding that they did not choose to waste their ammunition on individual objects, even rode up to the line and held an occasional parley, uttering from time to time a fierce defiance or an invitation to single combat. Dallas, an officer of great personal prowess, successfully encountered several of the Indian chiefs, and his name was called out by the most daring of the champions. In this mode of fighting, however, the natives in general had the advantage.

Harassing as such a warfare was, and though the Mysorean chief continued to refuse battle, he was obliged to raise the siege of every place upon which the English directed their march. In this manner the important fortresses of Wandewash and Permacoil were relieved, and a stop was thereby put to the career of the enemy. The British commander, however, in following the rapid movements of this indefatigable adversary, found his troops so exhausted, and reduced to such destitution, as left no prospect of relief except in a general action, which he scarcely hoped to accomplish. But Hyder at length, encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, and by a repulse sustained by our countrymen in attacking the pagoda of Chillumbrum, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, where he at once maintained his communication with the sea, and cut off the supplies of his opponent. This station was extremely formidable; but Sir Eyre Coote skilfully leading his men through a passage formed by the enemy for a different purpose, drew them up in the face of several powerful batteries as well as of a vast body of cavalry, and finally carried all before him. The rajah, seated on a portable stool upon an eminence in the rear of the army, was struck with amazement at the success of the attack, and burst into the most furious passion; refusing for some time to move from the spot, till a trusty old servant almost by force drew the slippers on his legs, and

placed him on a swift horse, which bore him out of the reach of danger.

This victory enabled the English commander to relieve Wandewash a second time, which was again closely pressed by Tippoo; but it did not supply his urgent want of money, provisions, and equipments. After sundry marches and countermarches, Hyder once more took the field, and waited battle in a position chosen by himself, being no other than the fortunate spot, as he deemed it, near the village of Polilloor, where he had gained the triumph over the corps of Colonel Baillie. Here General Coote led his troops to an action which proved more bloody than decisive; for though he placed them in various positions, he found them every where severely annoyed by a cross-fire from the enemy. Mr Mill's authorities even assert, that his movements were paralyzed by a dispute with Sir Hector Monro, and that had the Mysorean captain made a vigorous charge he would have completely carried the day. But he at length yielded the ground on which the battle was fought, and the English reached it over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen, who had fallen in the former action. The natives, according to some accounts, boasted of this encounter as a complete victory; but Colonel Wilks says they represented it merely as a drawn battle, which was not very far from the truth.

Neither the fame nor strength of the British army was much improved by this engagement. The commander, however, having learned that the important fortress of Vellore was besieged and reduced to extremity, determined upon a vigorous attempt to relieve it; and having understood that Hyder was posted at Sholinghur, resolved upon another effort to bring him to action. On the morning of the 27th September, he pushed forward with such vigour as very nearly to surprise the Indians before their ranks could be fully formed. They rallied indeed, and made several brisk charges, but were finally obliged to betake themselves to flight with the loss of 5000 men, while only a hundred fell on the side of the

assailants. General Coote was thus enabled, though not without difficulty, to march upon Vellore, the siege of which was abandoned on his approach.

The war continued with various fortune. Intelligence having been received of hostilities between the English and Dutch, Lord Macartney, now president at Madras, formed the design of reducing Negapatam, the capital of their settlements; and, upon finding Sir Eyre Coote opposed to the measure, he completed, without drawing any from the main army, a detachment of 4000 men, placed under the command of Sir Hector Monro. The enterprise was conducted with the greatest vigour, and five successive lines of redoubts were carried by the besiegers with such energy and intrepidity, that the garrison, though consisting of about 8000, capitulated in fourteen days. All the other Dutch settlements on the same coast fell along with it; and even their important station of Trincomalee, on the island of Ceylon, was carried by storm.

Meantime Colonel Brathwaite, at the head of 2000 men, was recovering for the English their ascendency in Tanjore; though his corps, when the whole country was occupied by the Mysorean cavalry, seems to have been too small to remain with safety detached from the main army. Hyder not only cut off from the British all sources of accurate information, but studied to deceive them; all the spies who pretended to give them intelligence were in his pay; and Brathwaite remained encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, without a suspicion that the flower of the enemy's forces were hemming him in on every side. Even when assured of the fact by one of the natives, he was so misled by opposite intimations as to think the assertion unworthy of credit, till he found himself enclosed by an army of more than ten times his number. All accounts agree that the resistance of this devoted little corps was truly gallant, and that, during the protracted contest, they repulsed repeated and desperate attacks. But at length an onset by the French troops broke the sepoys; the whole were thrown into confusion, and finally either killed or obliged

to surrender. The French officers displayed their usual humanity, and even Tippoo, who commanded, did not on this occasion treat the prisoners with his accustomed barbarity.

Notwithstanding this triumph Hyder felt deep anxiety as to his future prospects. He learned that, through the indefatigable exertions made by Mr Hastings from Bengal, the Mahratta government had withdrawn from his alliance, and had even bound themselves to guarantee the British territory as it stood at the period of their last treaty. At the same time a detachment, which he had sent to besiege Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, met with a very unexpected resistance; they were not only unable to make any impression, but, on a strong reinforcement being received from Bombay, were beaten and compelled to surrender. So much depressed was he by these unfavourable circumstances, that he had even formed the design of evacuating the Carnatic, when tidings arrived of a strong body of French troops having arrived on the coast; and accordingly, on the 10th March, they landed to the amount of 3000. These auxiliaries and their allies, regarding themselves now decidedly superior in the field, immediately laid siege to Cuddalore, which, having been imperfectly provided with the means of defence, surrendered almost without resistance. They then proceeded to attack the important position of Wandewash; but General Coote having presented himself, and offered battle for its relief, the combined army, with all its boasted strength, declined that issue and retreated towards Pondicherry. The British general followed, and defeated them with considerable loss near Arnee. At the same time he threw supplies into Vellore, and undertook an expedition against Cuddalore, which failed only through the want of naval co-operation. Thus, even after obtaining a powerful reinforcement from France, Hyder remained still unable to face the English army in the open field.

In the meanwhile, the latter were employing vigorous efforts to make an impression on the side of Malabar.

After the triumphant repulse of the enemy from Tellicherry, Major Abingdon reduced Calicut; and Colonel Humberstone, an able and intelligent officer, landed with additional strength from Bombay, which rendered the British completely masters of the field. The nayrs, hailing him as a deliverer, immediately joined their forces to his, and the combined troops proceeded into the interior. The enemy having imprudently waited their approach in a disadvantageous position, with a river in their rear, were totally defeated, and a great number drowned in the flight. Yet, on advancing into the country, the conqueror found himself so encumbered by the difficulties of the march, and harassed by parties acting in his rear, that he was obliged to commence his retreat. This movement it was soon necessary to make very rapid, as Tippoo and Lally had hastened with a large army to retrieve the Mysorean interests on this coast. The English fell back to Paniani, where Colonel Macleod, who arrived to take the command, intrenched himself so strongly, that Tippoo was repulsed with a severe loss. This prince, however, was preparing with a superior force to renew the attack, when he was recalled by an event of the most momentous character, to which he very naturally considered every other as secondary.

Hyder's health had for some time been in a state of rapid decline, and symptoms now appeared of that severe imposthume called the rajhora, or royal boil, said to be peculiar to the country and even to the higher ranks. When decidedly formed, it baffles the skill of the native physicians, and invariably proves fatal. He expired on the 7th December 1782, at an age not precisely ascertained, but believed to have exceeded eighty. Of the numerous race of Indian adventurers he was perhaps the most remarkable. Destitute of the first elements of education, unable to write or read, he made his way to the throne of a mighty kingdom, which he governed with brilliant talent and profound political wisdom, though without the least tincture of honour, principle,

or humanity. His death formed a crisis the most alarming for the power which he had reared. An Indian army is held together by no sentiment of patriotism, public duty, or professional character, but simply by fealty to their chief, and to him personally. When he disappears, his soldiers are converted from an organized body to a scattered crowd of individuals, who either disperse entirely or are formed into bands, each following the leader who attaches them to him by his exploits, or can bribe them by his wealth. This danger was great as it respected the family of Hyder, whose active mind was the soul of every movement in the court and army. His sagacity, however, enabled him to choose instruments who, in the hour of trial, proved faithful to himself and his house.

The affairs of his treasury were administered by the joint instrumentality of Poornea and Kishen Rao, two Bramins of opposite sects, speaking different languages, and serving as checks upon each other. These two persons, as soon as they saw Hyder's last hour approaching, formed in concert the extraordinary design of concealing it from the army and the world. The state of his health had for some time prevented him from receiving any but his most confidential servants; to them the two treasurers, with awful injunctions of secrecy, communicated the fact; while to all the others they gave regular reports of the progress of the malady, which they still represented as favourable. Only Mohammed Ameen, cousin-german to the monarch, with another chief, contrived the plan of raising to power his second son, a youth of defective intellect, as a pageant in whose name they themselves might govern. But their plot was discovered; and they were apprehended and sent off under a strong guard, as if by the personal orders of the sovereign. The instant that the rajah expired, his faithful ministers despatched notice to his eldest son, which reached him in four days. Tippoo instantly suspended his operations against the English, and accomplished a march with extreme rapidity across the peninsula. As

he approached, and learned that every thing was tranquil, he slackened his speed, and on the 2d January, 1783, made a private entry into the camp, where, after the usual distribution of pay and donatives, he was soon recognised as commander of the army and as sovereign of Mysore. He had now at his disposal troops estimated at 88,000 men, and a treasure amounting to three millions sterling, besides a great store of jewels and other precious effects.

Notwithstanding this studied concealment, the government at Madras received early notice of the death of Hyder. They immediately transmitted the intelligence to their commander-in-chief, urging him to make a rapid movement to take advantage of that disorganization which usually follows such a crisis in an Indian government. But unfortunately the most violent insubordination and dissension reigned among the different members of the council themselves. The dictatorial power, independent of the civil government, intrusted to Sir Eyre Coote, was perhaps necessary under the circumstances of that period, and had been attended with signal advantage in the conduct of the war; but it formed a precedent to which future commanders were too much inclined to appeal. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre, claimed equal authority; while Lord Macartney required the entire subordination of the military to the civil administration. The former, to vindicate his supposed right, seems to have acted in studious opposition to the instructions issued by the presidency. He first expressed doubts of the death of Hyder; then said that he would move at the proper time; next declared that his army was in no condition to march; and, in short, did not undertake any thing till thirteen days after Tippoo was fully established in the sovereignty.

This state of dissension between the civil and military authorities, each seeking rather to inculpate the other than to promote public objects, could not but be highly injurious to the service. The supreme government seem to have laid the chief blame upon that of Madras. They

say, "You favour us with a collected mass of complaint and invective against this government; against the Nabob of Arcot and his ministers; against the commander-in-chief of all the forces in India; against the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet; against your own provincial commander-in-chief; and again, against this government." It was observed, that the efforts of the presidency, when they had the entire management of the war and the most liberal supplies, had been altogether unavailing for the delivery of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote was accordingly sent to resume the command, with nearly the same unlimited powers as before, to which Lord Macartney very decidedly objected. But the gallant general, overcome by the hardships of the voyage, suffered a renewal of some former disease, and expired on the 26th April 1783, two days after reaching Madras, and about four months after the decease of the great Indian prince whose career he had checked.

The war in the Carnatic had now assumed an aspect favourable beyond expectation. Tippoo, from causes which we shall presently notice, considering the west of India as having become the principal theatre of hostilities, withdrew his troops from the former, in order that he might act in the latter with more effect. In consequence of his departure it was determined to attack Cuddalore, where the French had now concentrated their main strength. As this place was receiving continual reinforcements, it was desirable to proceed speedily to its investment; but the Madras government lodged heavy complaints of the tardy progress made by General Stuart, who performed only a daily march of three miles, and thus required forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, to reach his destination. He was censured also for immediately calling Colonel Fullerton from Tanjore, an expedient which was understood to be reserved for a case of urgent necessity. The fact, however, appears to have been, that with every reinforcement which could be obtained, the task was beyond his strength. Bussy, the French commander, had under him a numerous and

brave army, with a considerable body of native troops. In an attack, which took place on the 13th June, the English gained indeed the contested position, but with the loss of upwards of a thousand men. The garrison was afterwards repulsed with considerable loss in a midnight sally;* yet Suffrein, the French admiral, having made himself master of the sea, and landed no fewer than 2400 men, the enemy acquired a decided superiority, and prepared for an enterprise which threatened the most disastrous consequences to the British. Stuart, irritated and disgusted, and considering himself abandoned by the government at Madras, had recklessly determined to expose his followers to whatever hazard the course of things might present. At this critical moment, however, tidings arrived that peace was concluded between the two nations. Bussy soon after suspended offensive operations, and even sent orders to his countrymen to withdraw from the service of Tippoo, offering likewise his mediation between the two belligerent parties; but, though some advances were made, they were not productive of any immediate result.

We shall now turn our attention to the proceedings on the western coast, which were rapidly rising in importance. After Tippoo had retired so hastily to make good his claim to the crown, the English became again decidedly superior; having obtained a very considerable reinforcement under General Mathews, who assumed the command. That officer received from the presidency of Bombay positive orders to commence operations, and push forward without delay, by the most direct road, against the important city of Bednore. Instructions thus peremptory, issued by a civil government placed at so great a distance, were manifestly inexpedient. Mathews wrote, remonstrating in the strongest manner against the danger of the course thus prescribed, and the disadvantage of depriving him of discretionary power;

* Bernadotte, the present King of Sweden, was taken prisoner in this action, and treated by General Wangenhein with a humanity which he afterwards cordially acknowledged.

and yet, though there must be always some measure of discretion implied in such circumstances, he proceeded precipitately to carry his orders into effect. He landed his troops at the point of the coast nearest to Bednore, and began to scale the steepest part of the Ghauts, regardless of several detachments of the enemy which were hovering on his flank and rear. He experienced a degree of success which there was little room to anticipate ; every thing gave way before him, and Bednore itself surrendered without a blow. He is supposed to have found in that city a treasure exceeding £800,000, and was accused of appropriating to himself a considerable portion of it ; but, from the events which followed, this charge could never be fully investigated. It would appear from Colonel Wilks, that treason, unknown to the general, had afforded the means of his triumph. Sheik Ayâz, the governor, had been raised to a high command by Hyder, who was accustomed to reproach Tippoo with the superior qualities of this slave as contrasted with his own. Hence the prince conceived the most deadly hatred against the favourite, who, soon after the late monarch's decease, intercepted a letter from the new sultan ordering him to be put to death. Under this impulse, he hastened to the citadel, and effected its delivery to the English. He did not, however, join in active warfare against his cruel master, but contented himself on his approach with retiring to the coast.

Tippoo was greatly annoyed on learning the fall of this important place, and the near advance of the enemy towards his capital. Mathews was soon informed that successive corps were throwing themselves on his rear, and surrounding him with a force against which he would be unable to cope. He had by this time obtained permission from the Bombay government to act according to his own discretion ; but he was now so elated by his easy victory, that he placed blind confidence in fortune, and even, according to certain statements, believed himself aided by some supernatural power. Thus, reposing in full security, he allowed his communi-

cations with the sea to be intercepted, while his troops were surrounded by Tippoo's whole force, aided by the science of Cossigny, a French engineer. The garrison were driven into the citadel, and, after a brave defence, were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, though on favourable terms, receiving a promise that they should be safely conducted to the coast. When the Indian prince obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but, to his rage and dismay, found it empty. Orders were then given to search the persons of the English officers, on which unhappily was found a large sum both in money and jewels, considered always in that country as public property. Upon this discovery he considered himself absolved from all that he had stipulated; the prisoners were thrown into irons, and committed to the most rigorous durance in the different fortresses of Mysore.

The sultan immediately marching down to the low district, invested Mangalore, which, though a fortress of very secondary strength, was defended in the most gallant manner by Colonel Campbell. Having stood a siege of fifty-six days, it was reduced almost to a heap of ruins, when tidings arrived of the peace concluded between France and England. The French officers, Cossigny, Lally, and Boudenot, then withdrew with their troops from the army of Tippoo,—a measure viewed with great indignation by that prince, who considered them as united to him in a personal alliance during the war. Indeed it was not without difficulty that they escaped the effects of his resentment. Having made some vain attempts to prosecute the siege alone, he at length agreed to an armistice, which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar. One condition was, that a certain supply of provisions, sufficient to keep up the present stock, should be allowed to enter Mangalore every month. But, although this stipulation was nominally observed, its spirit was completely violated, the food provided being so deficient in quantity, and of such very bad quality, that the health of the garrison rapidly sank; while General

M'Leod, with an exceedingly ill-timed scrupulosity, declined taking any effective means for introducing proper supplies. The consequence was, that Campbell, after sustaining a siege of nearly nine months, was obliged to surrender, and was so overpowered by the fatigues of the service, that he soon afterwards died.

Meantime in the south, under the able direction of Mr Sullivan the civil resident, and through the military talents of Colonels Lang and Fullerton, very important advantages were gained. First Caroor and Dindigul, and afterwards Palgaut and Coimbetoor, were reduced. The last of these officers was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march upon Seringapatam, when he was ordered to stop, and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp and treat for peace; and, with a courtesy which Colonel Wilks considers blamable, the Madras government had acceded to his request. These envoys, however, on discovering his proceedings with regard to Mangalore, sent orders to Fullerton to suspend the process of restoration. But at length a treaty was concluded, founded on the basis that each party should retain his former possessions, and that the sultan should release such of his prisoners as had survived the cruelties with which they had been treated.

CHAPTER II.

Conquest of Mysore.

Power of Tippoo—His Persecution of the Christians, and of the People of Coorg—Confederacy against him—His Successes—Conclusion of Peace—Cruel Treatment of the Natives in Calicut—Attack on Travancore—Repulse—Final Success—Arrival and Views of Marquis Cornwallis—He resolves to make War upon Tippoo—Treaty with the Nizam—General Medows opens the Campaign—Reduction of Dindigul and Palgaut—Successful Manœuvres of Tippoo—He lays waste the Carnatic—Cornwallis assumes the Command—Advances upon Bangalore—Reduces that Fortress—Nizam's Contingent—Advance upon Seringapatam—Engagement, Distress and Retreat of the English—General Abercromby's Advance and Retreat—Junction with the Mahrattas—Reduction of several Hill-forts—Second March on Seringapatam—Defeat of Tippoo—Overtures from him—Terms accepted—The young Princes received as Hostages—Difficulties—Final Conclusion—General Results of the War—Pacific Policy of Sir John Shore—Arrival of Marquis Wellesley—His System—Tippoo's Negotiation with the French—British Influence established at the Court of the Nizam—Negotiations with the Sultan—Army advances against him—He attacks the Troops from Bombay—British march on Seringapatam—Action at Malavilly—Despondence of Tippoo—Siege commenced—Its Operations—Tippoo attempts to negotiate—His Alarm—Storming of Seringapatam—Death of the Sultan—His Character—Anecdotes—Disposal of the Kingdom of Mysore.

Tippoo, after having concluded this treaty, became the most prominent personage in the political world of India. Equal perhaps to his father in talents and ambition, sometimes even displaying a superior military genius, he was yet, as already observed, a very different character

The former always proceeded in a direct course to realize his schemes of interest or ambition, from which no other object could turn him aside; but the latter was agitated by various passions and caprices, which disqualified him from pursuing a decided line of policy. Instead, too, of manifesting the indifference of Hyder on the subject of religion, he was inspired with a furious zeal in the cause of Islamism, which prompted to the most odious and tyrannical measures. The issue was, that he was buried under the ruins of the empire he inherited, and which his predecessor, by so many arts and crimes, had raised out of nothing.

His first religious persecution was directed against the Christians on the coast of Canara, who had been converted by the Portuguese. In this case, indeed, he seems to have had a somewhat plausible pretext. In his narrative he asserts, probably not without truth, that the Europeans had originally employed violent means to compel the natives to adopt the new creed. Having therefore collected 60,000, by his own statement, but, according to Wilks, only 30,000, he forcibly inflicted on them the rite of circumcision; then hurried them to the capital, and distributed them in the different garrisons; a barbarous treatment, by which it is said that many perished. By a strange inconsistency, he represented it as the highest honour to be thus urged to the profession of the Moslem faith, yet made it the punishment of rebellion and contumacy. The rude mountainous territory of Coorg had always formed a reluctant appendage to the kingdom of Mysore. The people had taken advantage of the war with the English to reassert their independence; holding their conquerors in equal abhorrence on account of their religion, and their disregard for the rights of landed property. As they now presented the aspect of a formidable resistance, Tippoo was obliged to march against them with his whole force, when they retreated into the depth of their forests, which appeared almost inaccessible. Having, however, divided his whole army into detachments, which formed a complete circle

round the unhappy fugitives, and closing in upon them as huntsmen do in pursuit of game, he at length penetrated into their most secret haunts, and carried off 70,000 victims to undergo the abhorred penalties of circumcision and captivity. Elated by these cruel triumphs, the sultan hesitated not to assume the title of *padsha*, which our historians have not very accurately translated king. It was hitherto appropriated exclusively to the Great Mogul, whose supremacy had till that period been acknowledged in Mysore ; but no sooner did the conqueror invest himself with this high distinction, than public prayers were offered for him instead of Shah Allum.

The increasing influence and lofty pretensions of this potentate raised against him, in 1786, a confederacy the most powerful that had for a long time been formed in Southern India. The Mahrattas had repeatedly shaken to its foundation the throne of Hyder ; and, though now much disunited, they were still the greatest among the native powers. They held possession of the person as well as the capital of the Mogul, and had no rivals for empire except in the Afghan sovereigns. With the nizam, who ranked second in strength and dignity, they formed an alliance, which had for its object the subversion of the new kingdom in the south, and the division between them of all its possessions. So confident were the Mahrattas of a triumphant issue, that they did not even call in their own contingents, and declined courting the aid of the English, lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. The confederates advanced towards the Toombuddra, the chief barrier between their dominions and those of Tippoo ; they besieged and took the strong fortress of Badamee ; and their cavalry spread themselves over the country. The sultan did not attempt directly to oppose this invading force ; but by a circuitous movement came rapidly upon Adonie, the principal fortress of the nizam south of the river just named, and considered by this ruler so strong, that he had formed in it a sort of royal esta-

blishment, which included the harems of his brother and nephew. The son of Hyder pushed the siege with his characteristic impetuosity; but having prematurely attempted to storm a breach, found it so bravely defended by its commander, that he sustained a complete repulse. The confederate armies were thus enabled to come to its relief, and obliged him to retire. But it was now the season of the year at which the Toombuddra undergoes its periodical inundation, when it became necessary for the allies to have the whole of their armies, their materials, and supplies, either on the one side or on the other of that river. To transport so many men and so much baggage to the southern bank, in the face of an active enemy, appeared too hazardous; they therefore recrossed to the northern side, leaving Tippoo's dominions secure during the period of the monsoon. They were even reduced to the necessity of abandoning Adonie, after hastily withdrawing its distinguished inmates; and the victor on entering found numerous apartments still fitted up with all the splendour of a royal palace.

The sultan had now just ground to boast of his success; yet he aimed at extending it still farther. He caused a great quantity of timber to be felled in the forests of Bednore, and floated down the swollen stream, where it was converted into rafts and basket-boats for conveying his forces across. All his officers dissuaded him from the daring scheme of carrying beyond this river offensive operations against such powerful armies. He rejected every argument, and in the course of a week had actually transported the whole of his troops to the other side. The confederates, who could not be made to believe in any such attempt, had neglected all precautions against it; and their indecisive movements soon showed how completely they were taken by surprise. After repeated marches and countermarches, Tippoo, with his whole force in four divisions, made a midnight attack upon their camp. Through a want of co-operation between these detachments, the undertaking did not completely succeed; yet the enemy were thereby compelled

to quit their position, and when they afterwards attempted to regain it, were repulsed with considerable loss. The general issue of the day was such as induced them to retreat, abandoning to the conqueror the important city and district of Savanoor. Soon after, overtures were made for a treaty, which was concluded on the condition that the sultan should acknowledge the tribute stipulated by Hyder; amounting still, after some liberal deductions, to forty-five lacks of rupees, thirty of which were actually paid. He restored also Adonie and the other towns taken during the war, and was in return recognised as sovereign of nearly all India south of the river Toombuddra.

By this successful contest against such a powerful confederacy, Tippoo had earned perhaps the greatest military name in Hindostan; having displayed even prudence and moderation in the terms on which he concluded peace. He now considered himself the undisputed ruler of the south, and at liberty to propagate the Mohammedan faith by violence of every description. His first movement was to descend the Ghauts, into the territory of Calicut or Malabar Proper, which, by a hard-won conquest, Hyder had annexed to the dominion of Mysore. Here he found a race inspired with such deadly enmity to his favourite creed, that if a Mussulman touched the outer wall of a house, they thought it necessary to reduce the whole to ashes. Their religious profession, indeed, derived little honour from their moral conduct, since custom among the nayrs, or natives of high rank, sanctioned a mode of living so extremely dissolute, that Tippoo did not exaggerate when he told them, that "they were all born in adultery, and were more shameless in their connexions than the beasts of the field." But notwithstanding these habits, they possessed the utmost bravery, and were prepared to make the most determined resistance to the resolution entertained by the sultan of compelling them to undergo circumcision and eat beef. Even when vanquished they submitted to both conditions with extreme reluctance:

and many sought refuge in the heart of forests, or in the surrounding mountains, till at length the whole were either circumcised or driven from their fields and homes. The victor then commenced a war against the religious edifices. He publicly boasted that he had rased to the ground eight thousand temples, with their roofs of gold, silver, and copper, after digging up the treasures buried at the feet of the idols; but there is reason to believe, that in this instance he greatly exaggerated his own enormities. At length he became so elated with these exploits, that he appears to have considered himself as really endued with supernatural powers, and little if at all inferior to Mohammed himself. Being strongly advised by his counsellors not to attempt passing the Ghauts during the height of the rainy season, he replied, that "he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters until he should have passed." But he had soon to encounter a mortal foe, against whom neither his earthly nor his celestial powers were found to avail.

The little kingdom of Travancore, forming the western part of the most southerly extremity of India, amid the revolutions which shook the greater states in its vicinity, had hitherto succeeded in maintaining independence and neutrality. It was protected not only by a lofty chain of mountains, extending as far as Cape Comorin, but by the more imperfect defence of a wall and ditch covering its whole frontier. Tippoo, however, had fixed his eyes with intense eagerness on the conquest of a territory which lay as it were enclosed within his recent acquisitions, and would complete their circuit. He fabricated several grounds of dissatisfaction. The territory of Cochin, which had now been reduced under complete vassalage to Mysore, happened so to intersect that of Travancore, that the wall formed for the defence of the one surrounded some portions of the other; and Tippoo could complain that his passage to a certain part of his dominions was obstructed by this barrier. The Rajah of Travancore again, with the view of securing his frontier,

had purchased from the Dutch the forts of Cranganor and Ayacotta, which the latter had long ago conquered from the Portuguese. This measure was deeply resented by Tippoo, who remarked that these forts stood within his territories, and alleged, though seemingly without reason, that the Dutch had owned his superiority, and paid a rent for the land. Lastly, the refugee nayrs, fleeing from his persecution, had found a friendly reception in Travancore. On these, or any other grounds, the sultan would not have been slow to execute his purpose, had it not been checked by a defensive alliance formed during the last war between the rajah and the English. It was therefore necessary to afford explanations to the government at Madras, who appear to have felt the strongest disposition to preserve pacific relations with Mysore. They professed themselves ready to listen to all reasonable grounds of complaint, and proposed sending two commissioners who might examine and adjust the several matters in dispute. This did not harmonize with the design of Tippoo, who hastened with his whole force to attack the weak barrier of the Travancore lines. The extent of such a fortification necessarily rendered it inefficient; and accordingly, on the 29th December 1789, while a numerous body, comprising apparently the whole army, by a feigned attack on the principal gate, occupied the attention of the inhabitants, the sultan himself with upwards of 14,000 men, the flower of his troops, had effected his entrance at an unguarded point on the right flank. He then pushed along the interior of the rampart to reach the nearest gate and open it to his soldiers. For some time his progress was almost unresisted; the inhabitants retreated from one tower to another; though, as reinforcements arrived, they began to make a more vigorous stand. They maintained their defence particularly in a large square building that served the joint purpose of a magazine and barrack; and here Tippoo, seeing his first division considerably diminished by successive contests, ordered it to be strengthened by a fresh corps. This operation being ill understood, was im-

perfectly executed ; and, as the troops were advancing in some disorder, a party of twenty Travancoreans, from under a close cover, opened a brisk fire on their flank. The commanding-officer fell, upon which the whole body was thrown into irretrievable confusion. The mass of fugitives drove before them a detachment which was advancing to their support, and who again impelled those behind. Many of the men thrown down were trampled to death ; and the ditch was filled with heaps of bodies. The sultan himself was borne along by the torrent, and some servants with difficulty conveyed him over the ditch, after he had twice fallen, and suffered such contusions as occasioned a lameness from which he never entirely recovered. His palanquin, the bearers of which had been killed in the crowd, was left behind ; and his seals, rings, and other ornaments, fell into the hands of the enemy. He hastened forward, partly on foot and partly in a small carriage, and arrived at his camp in the most miserable plight, after losing 2000 of his men. So precarious is the fortune with which war, and especially barbarous war, is often attended !

It may be easier to conceive than describe the rage and humiliation of Tippoo at seeing his fine army thus completely repulsed by a despised foe ; and he made a vow that he would not leave the encampment till he had retrieved and avenged the disaster. All his detachments were called in, his heavy cannon was brought down from Seringapatam and Bangalore ; and though more than three months were employed in these preparations, he succeeded completely in lulling the suspicions of the British, and in persuading them that he was still desirous of maintaining amicable relations. At length, his arrangements being completed, about the beginning of April 1790, he opened regular batteries against this contemptible wall, and soon made a breach nearly three quarters of a mile in extent. The troops of Travancore, thus exposed in the open field, fled with little resistance, and he soon saw the whole country lying defenceless before him. Immediately after he laid siege to

Cranganor, near which, on the neighbouring island of Vipeen, the English had a small force stationed to assist the rajah. These were reinforced by three battalions under Colonel Hartley, who, on finding that he could not undertake offensive operations, withdrew the native garrison from the place, and took up a defensive position, in which the enemy did not attempt to molest him. The Mysorean commander now overran a great part of the conquered territory, committing his usual devastations, and carrying great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. Many, however, retired to their southern fastnesses, where they could with difficulty be pursued; and the season becoming unfavourable, Tippoo, who was also alarmed by the movements of our countrymen, returned to Seringapatam, after having levelled to the ground the wall which had proved so unexpectedly formidable.

The Marquis Cornwallis had arrived in 1786 as governor-general, with a view to effect a complete reform in the system of Indian policy; and to avoid by every possible means war with the native powers was one of his leading instructions. He began, accordingly, by proclaiming, in a manner that has been censured as too full and undisguised, the resolution to engage in no hostilities not strictly defensive. Yet his views very early underwent a change; and he then considered it necessary, or at least highly expedient, to enter upon an extended warfare with the view of humbling completely the power of Mysore. It seems difficult to discover any good ground for altering his determination so entirely. Tippoo had no doubt shown himself very formidable; yet there was no reason to apprehend, while the whole of Central India was united by the alliance between the nizam and the Mahrattas, that the balance of power would be actually endangered; on the contrary, it was likely to be in greater peril from the downfal of one of these parties and the immoderate aggrandizement of the others. The new governor-general, in adopting this policy, was greatly influenced, we suspect, by the restless

and violent disposition of the sultan, and by an abhorrence of the cruel persecutions which he continued to inflict upon the inhabitants of the Malabar coast.

The views of the marquis were soon developed by a treaty formed with the nizam. He had been instructed to take the earliest opportunity of demanding from this prince the cession of Guntoor, one of the Northern Circars, considered necessary for completing the circuit of that important territory. This claim was founded on the agreement of 1768, originally concluded with a view to offensive war against Hyder, and to a partition of his dominions. The pretension was somewhat exorbitant, considering that the treaty had been repeatedly broken; that war had since been waged between the two parties; and that peace was twice contracted with Mysore without any regard to its stipulations. A military force, however, was despatched to support the claim, which the nizam showed a very remarkable and unexpected facility in granting. Hatred and fear of Tippoo had at this time overcome all other considerations, and he readily agreed to execute the conditions of the treaty relative to Guntoor, provided all the others, including extensive cessions promised to him from the expected spoil of his enemy, were also inserted. The governor-general could not grant this to the full extent, but he acceded to the proposal in case future circumstances should admit of its fulfilment. At the same time, agreeably to treaty, a subsidiary force was to be sent to the nizam, and securities were introduced that it should not be employed against certain other powers. No such saving clause being added in reference to the sultan, the negotiation with respect to him bore altogether a hostile character.

While actuated by these dispositions, Lord Cornwallis was probably gratified upon hearing that Tippoo, by his attack on the Travancore wall, had afforded a regular ground on which to declare war. He made a most indignant reply to the presidency at Madras, who, expressing their opinion that this prince still desired peace, were themselves entering into treaty, and making no

preparation for hostilities. In fact, the Travancore affair, though it called for attention, does not seem to have pressed so closely on any British interest that an attempt might not have been made to adjust it by pacific arrangements. The marquis, however, announced, that it ought to have been considered, and must still be viewed, as at once placing the two powers in a state of enmity. He had determined to repair to Madras and take the command in person, but relinquished this intention on learning the arrival of General Medows, in whose vigour and capacity he placed the utmost confidence. At the same time he hastened to conclude an alliance with the nizam and the Mahratta government, who each engaged to employ their whole force against the sultan; in return for which, upon the success of the war, all their claims upon the territory of Mysore were to be granted in their fullest extent. The former pressed earnestly for a guarantee that, while his troops were absent on the projected expedition, his country should not be pillaged by his warlike allies; but, though it was impossible to deny the reality of the danger, it would have been exceedingly ungracious, in a public document, to have supposed that great power capable of such a dereliction of duty and decency. The governor-general, however, gave private assurances of protection, with which he prevailed upon the Indian prince to be satisfied.

Tippoo seems not to have been prepared for the prompt movement of the English. In June 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than by the most direct route to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. This march had already been projected and considered practicable by Colonel Fullerton at the termination of the last war. As compared with the northern road through the frontier-district of the Baramahl, it had the disadvantage of being more remote from Madras, and consequently from all military supplies and stores; but it led through a country more abundant in forage and provisions, and avoided

the obstacle presented by the powerful fortress of Bangalore. It was necessary, however, to begin by reducing the strong places possessed by the sultan in the low country; and General Medows, fixing his head-quarters at Coimbetoor, employed in this service Colonel Stuart, who had acquired much experience in Southern India. The most important of these fortresses, and that which was considered the main bulwark of Mysore in this quarter, was Palgaut, about thirty miles west of Coimbetoor. Stuart immediately marched against it, but had on his way to encounter an unexpected obstacle. At this season the monsoon, which deluges the coast of Malabar, conveys only cooling and refreshing showers to the interior and eastern districts; but, in advancing westward, he met its full force, which rendered the country wholly unfit for military operations. After giving a formal summons to Palgaut, he returned, and was then despatched to Dindigul, more than 100 miles distant in the south-east. Having formed a very inadequate idea of the strength of this place, he had carried only a small stock of ammunition, which was found nearly exhausted after effecting only a very imperfect breach. No alternative was left but an attempt to storm it, in which he was repulsed; the enemy, however, were so struck by the spirit with which the assault was conducted, and so ignorant of the deficiency under which he laboured, that they sent proposals of surrender, on terms which he was too wise not to accept.

By the time he returned from Dindigul, the season admitted of his again proceeding against Palgaut. Here he had been equally misinformed, though to quite a different effect, having been led to expect a very formidable resistance. He accordingly employed great efforts in sending forward a considerable train of artillery; but on the morning of the 21st September, two batteries having been opened, the guns of the fort were speedily silenced, and before night a breach was effected in the curtain. The garrison soon made offers of submission, asking scarcely any conditions except that they should

be protected from the fury of the nayrs in the British service, who were ready to vent on all that belonged to Tippoo their deepest resentment for his barbarous persecution.

While Colonel Stuart was thus employed, considerable progress was made by the army towards the high land of Mysore. A chain of posts along the rivers Cavery and Bahvany, namely, Caroor, Eroad, Sattimungul, had been successively reduced; and the last of these, commanding the important pass of Gujelhutty, which opened the way into the heart of the country, was occupied by Colonel Floyd with a force of 2000 men. By this arrangement the different corps were very ill connected together; for General Medows at Coimbetoor was sixty miles distant from the division of Floyd, and thirty from that of Stuart. The second of these officers pointed out the danger of his situation, and the intelligence he had received that the enemy was collecting a great force to attack him; but the commander paid no attention to this warning, and ordered the detachment to continue in its present position. The Mysore cavalry, under Seyed Saheb, had indeed, in their attack, been very easily repulsed, and even compelled to retire behind the Ghauts; still, this failure of the advanced guard under a pusillanimous chief afforded no ground to judge of what might be expected when the whole force under the sultan himself should be brought into action. Early in September his horsemen were seen in large bodies descending the Ghauts; and as, when crossing the Bahvany at different points, they endeavoured to surround the handful of English and sepoys, the latter soon felt themselves in a very critical situation. They nevertheless made a gallant defence, and the enemy, having entangled their columns in the thick enclosures which surrounded the British position, were charged very effectually with the bayonet, and several squadrons entirely cut off. The Mysoreans, however, still advanced with increasing numbers, and opened a battery, which did great execution among the native soldiers; yet these mercenaries stood their ground with

great bravery, saying,—"We have eaten the Company's salt; our lives are at their disposal." They accordingly maintained their position, and Tippoo thought proper to withdraw during the night to the distance of several miles: but the casualties had been so very severe, and the post proved so untenable, that Colonel Floyd considered it necessary in the morning to commence his retreat, leaving on the field three dismounted guns. The sultan, at the same time, having mustered his forces, began the pursuit with about fifteen thousand men, and after midday overtook the English as they retired in single column. The latter, repeatedly obliged to halt and form in order of battle, repulsed several charges; yet, as soon as they resumed their march, the Indians hovered round them on all sides. They were compelled to abandon three additional guns, and their situation was becoming more and more critical, when some cavalry being seen on the road from Coimbetoor, the cry arose that General Medows was coming to their aid. This report, being favoured by the commander, was echoed with such confidence through the ranks, that though Tippoo had good information as to the real fact, he was deceived, and withdrew his cavalry. Colonel Floyd was thus enabled to prosecute his retreat towards the main army, which had already marched to meet him, but by a wrong road; so that the two divisions found much difficulty, and suffered many hardships, before they could rejoin each other.

The English, in the course of these untoward events, had lost above 400 in killed and wounded; their plans for the campaign had been deranged; the stores and magazines formed on the proposed line of march lay open to the enemy, and were therefore to be removed with all speed. General Medows, notwithstanding, resumed offensive operations, and had nearly come in contact with the army of the sultan; but this ruler, by a series of manœuvres, eluded both him and Colonel Maxwell, then stationed in Baramahl, and by a rapid march descended into the Coromandel territory. After menacing Trichinopoly, he turned northwards, and swept the Carnatic

with nearly as little opposition as was experienced by his father during his first triumphant campaign. At Thiagar, indeed, he was repulsed by his old friend Captain Flint, whom he had learned to know at Wandewash; but scarcely any other place made even a show of resistance. He began by burning and destroying every thing in his way; but soon considered that it would be more profitable to levy contributions, and thereby to replenish his somewhat exhausted treasury. On approaching Pondicherry, he endeavoured to open a negotiation with the French, which was rendered fruitless by the pacific disposition of Louis the Sixteenth.

General Medows in the field displayed courage and talent; but he had not shown himself equal to the intricate operations of an Indian campaign. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, determined to resume his original design of directing in person the course of the war; and having arrived at Madras, on the 29th January 1791, he took the command. He brought considerable reinforcements; and having ordered Medows to join him, resolved without hesitation to carry hostilities into the centre of Tippoo's dominions. In weighing the advantages of the two lines of operation, the north and the south, by which he could penetrate into the interior of Mysore, he preferred the former. Probably the failure of the late campaign a good deal influenced his choice; he reflected also on the distance to which his military movements would in the other case be withdrawn from their point of support at Madras, and therefore decided upon braving all the difficulties presented by the fortress of Bangalore, and the bleak region in which it is situated.

On the 5th February the governor-general began his march, and on the 11th passed through Vellore towards Amboor, as if he had meant to ascend the mountains by some one of the passes directly opposite to Madras. Tippoo, meantime, was lingering near Pondicherry, in hopes of concluding his French negotiation, and being thereby reinforced by six thousand troops. He trusted, too, that with his light cavalry he might reach the passes

towards which the English were advancing, in time to place himself in their front. Cornwallis, however, suddenly wheeled to the right, and by a circuitous march of four days attained the pass of Mooglee, where he found neither fear nor preparation on the part of the enemy. In a similar period he entered without resistance the high plain of Mysore, and was now in the heart of the sultan's country. This able movement, with which the commander-in-chief opened his career, struck his antagonist with consternation, and inspired the most favourable anticipations as to the manner in which the campaign would be conducted.

Tippoo, taken completely by surprise, hastened to the defence of his dominions; but he acted on no distinct or effective plan. He lost much valuable time in superintending personally the removal of his harem from Bangalore; and, notwithstanding several attempts to harass the British, scarcely opposed an obstacle to their taking ground before that stronghold, which they did on the 5th March. The siege was immediately begun with the utmost vigour, yet under peculiar disadvantages. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; operations were therefore carried on solely by breach and battery; the garrison received all the reinforcements and supplies of which they stood in need; while the sultan, with the whole of his brave and active army, well skilled in desultory warfare, hovered round, making continual efforts to support the besieged, and to annoy their assailants. Yet the only serious disaster which the latter experienced was occasioned by the too forward valour of Colonel Floyd, when despatched with the cavalry to cover a *reconnoissance*. Being about to retire, he saw the enemy's rear in a position exposed to an advantageous attack, and could not resist the temptation. He pushed on, and though soon entangled in broken and irregular ground, drove successive detachments before him, when suddenly a musket-ball entered his cheek, passed through both jaws, and he fell down apparently dead. The second in command being in the extreme left, there was no one to

give orders or encourage the troops at this critical moment. They began a retreat, which, as the different corps of the enemy rallied, and a cross-fire was opened from the fort, was soon changed into a confused flight. The overthrow might have been very serious, had not Colonel Gowdie come up with a body of infantry, and checked the advance of the pursuers. The loss of the British in men was only 71, but the destruction of nearly 300 horses was very severely felt.

Another enterprise, which proved somewhat hazardous, was the carrying of the town, or pettah as it was called, of Bangalore, a place of very considerable extent and importance. It was surrounded with an indifferent wall, but the ditch was good, and the gate was covered by a very close thicket of Indian thorns. The attack was made, too, without any due knowledge of the ground; and the soldiers, both in advancing and in endeavouring to force an entrance, were exposed to a destructive fire from turrets lined with musketry. Colonel Moorhouse, one of the most accomplished characters in the service, received four wounds, which proved fatal. At length, when the gate was almost torn in pieces, Lieutenant Ayre, a man of diminutive stature, forced his way through it, and Medows, who preserved an inspiring gayety in the midst of battle, called out, "Well done! now, whiskers, try if you can follow and support the little gentleman." On this animating call, the troops dashed into the town; though its great extent rendered the occupation difficult. Tippoo likewise threw in a strong corps, which renewed the contest, opening a heavy fire with small arms; but, when the English betook themselves to the bayonet, they drove the enemy with irresistible fury through the streets and lanes, and soon compelled them to evacuate the pettah. Our loss, however, amounted to 131.

Notwithstanding every obstacle, the besiegers by the 21st had effected a breach, and though it was not in a condition for being stormed, yet, on considering the active movements made by the sultan, it was determined to

make the attempt that very night. It was bright moonlight,—eleven was the hour named,—and a whisper along the ranks was the signal appointed for advancing in profound silence. The ladders were planted, and a few men had reached the rampart before the alarm extended through the garrison. The killedar or governor hastened to the spot, and fought with the utmost bravery, but he fell; and the assailants, charging with the bayonet, soon established themselves on the top of the walls. They spread to the right and left; columns descended into the body of the place; and in an hour they were masters of Bangalore. Tippoo had received the intelligence, and was marching with his whole force to save the place, when crowds of fugitives announced to him the disastrous event; and he remained the whole night sunk in silence and stupor. It is asserted that he was aware of the intended attack, and had made preparations to meet it; but the occurrences which actually took place do not seem very consistent with this statement.

After this triumph, Lord Cornwallis was still in extreme distress for provisions, and especially forage. Before making his grand movement upon the capital, he proceeded northward, in hopes of obtaining supplies, and of being joined by 10,000 horse which the nizam had promised. After a long march, the expected contingent made its appearance; but a woful disappointment was felt at the very aspect of such grotesque auxiliaries. According to Wilks, "it is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not be traced in this motley crowd,—the Parthian bow and arrow, the iron club of Scythia, sabres of every age and nation, lances of every length and description, and matchlocks of every form, metallic helmets of every pattern." These singular accoutrements were combined with "the total absence of every symptom of order or obedience, excepting groups collected round their respective flags; every individual an independent warrior, self-impelled, affecting to be the champion whose single arm

was to achieve victory." This corps, it was evident, could never be of any use in regular operations ; but hopes were at first cherished that they might relieve the English from some of the harassing duty belonging to light troops. It was soon found, however, that they did nothing but plunder the natives and consume the stores of the camp, already almost entirely exhausted.

Lord Cornwallis, though he had been so completely disappointed in his allies, and though all his departments, especially those of conveyance, were in the most imperfect state, was yet anxiously desirous to bring the war to a termination, which could be effected only by advancing upon Seringapatam. For this end all possible resources were called into action ; the officers were invited and agreed with alacrity to contribute their private means, and to hire from the natives accommodations, which the latter would not willingly have placed under the control of a public department. Cannon-balls were carried even by women and children ; and thus, almost without any regular equipment, the army was enabled to march upon the capital. This movement struck Tippoo with alarm ; he had even made arrangements for conveying his harem and treasure to Chittledroog ; but his mother represented to him the fatal impression of despondency which such a step would make upon his troops and subjects. He yielded to her judgment, and determined to hazard all in the defence of his chief city. His mingled apprehension and rage were oddly displayed, in effacing from the walls of the town numerous caricatures with which he had caused them to be embellished, representing the English in the most ridiculous attitudes, and also in the secret murder of a number of his prisoners.

The sultan had hitherto confined himself to a desultory warfare, endeavouring to cut off the British by detachments, in the manner which, during the last contest, had been so successful. But in his campaign with Lord Cornwallis, he had been unable to achieve any exploit of this description ; and now the danger of his

capital, and it is said the reproaches of his wives, urged him to hazard a general battle rather than allow it to be formally invested. He drew up his men with great judgment on a range of heights in front of the Cavery, which here separated his army from the island on which Seringapatam stood. The governor-general, by a night-movement, placed himself on the enemy's left flank; but Tippoo, with great promptitude, had anticipated the object of his opponent by occupying a succession of steep hills in front of his position, from the possession of which he derived a great advantage. The battle was of long continuance, and maintained with great obstinacy. The English, unable to employ their own artillery with any effect, suffered considerably from that of the enemy, and were also seriously annoyed by numerous flights of rockets furnished from the arsenal. Yet, on coming to close combat, they carried, by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of the sultan's army was obliged to seek shelter under the fortifications of the city.

Lord Cornwallis, at the expense of 500 men in killed and wounded, had gained the honour of the day; but he was in such a situation that only a decisive victory, and scarcely even that, could have enabled him to achieve his object. Tippoo had practised, with the utmost diligence, his old system of laying waste the country around the English. They had marched through a desert, and in vain, by sending scouts in every direction, endeavoured to find a human being who could afford either aid or information; and the army was now suffering most deeply from famine, disease, and all those evils which, in a campaign, are often more fatal than the sword. Their means of conveyance were so deficient that the men were compelled, in view of the enemy, to drag the baggage, and even the heavy cannon, as if they had been beasts of burden. In short, after several marches and countermarches, the British commander felt himself under the painful necessity of immediately retreating, with the sacrifice of all the battering-train and heavy equipments

with which he was to have besieged Seringapatam. He was obliged also to stop the progress of another expedition which was advancing to his support.

Although Madras was the main centre of the English operations, yet the war had extended to the coast of Malabar. There Colonel Hartley held the command, with a force numerically small, but aided by the zealous co-operation of the natives, who had been thoroughly alienated by the violence of the sultan. This enmity towards him rendered it impossible for his troops to carry on that desultory warfare in which they excelled; they were therefore obliged to fight a regular battle, and were completely defeated. Soon after, in December 1790, General R. Abercromby landed with a large force, reduced Cananor, and easily made himself master of every other place held by the enemy in Malabar. He met with another auxiliary, who opened for him a passage into the midst of Tippoo's dominions. An account has been given of the injurious treatment suffered by the people of Coorg from the ruler of Mysore. Their youthful rajah, after a long captivity, had lately contrived to effect his return. The greater part of his subjects were groaning in exile; but in the depth of the woody recesses there was still a band of freemen, who rallied round him with enthusiastic ardour. By a series of exploits, that might have adorned a tale of romance, the young prince recalled his people from the distant quarters to which they had been driven,—organized them into a regular military body, drove the oppressors from post after post, and finally became undisputed ruler of Coorg, expelling the Mohammedan settlers who had been forcibly introduced. A common interest soon united him in strict alliance with General Abercromby, who thus obtained a route by which he could transport his army, without opposition, into the elevated plain. The conveyance of the heavy cannon, however, was a most laborious task, as it was often necessary to drag them by ropes and pulleys up the tremendous steeps, which form on this side the declivity of the Ghauts.

At length the general had overcome every difficulty, and was in full march to join Lord Cornwallis, when he received orders to retreat, which, in this case too, could be effected only by the sacrifice of all the heavy artillery.

As his lordship was retiring, in a most shattered condition, upon Bangalore, the strength of the men failing for want of food, and the sick being with the utmost difficulty dragged along, his troops were alarmed by the appearance on their left of a large body of cavalry, apparently the vanguard of a numerous army; but as they were preparing for resistance, one of the horsemen rode up and called out that he was a Mahratta. This proved in fact to be no other than the first division of those potent allies, under the command of Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt. These chiefs had taken the field in good time, and this unfortunate delay had been occasioned by the siege of Darwar, a very strong place considerably to the northward, which Tippoo had carefully fortified and garrisoned with his best soldiers. Purseram, seconded by a small detachment of English, broke ground before it in September 1791; but our officers were almost distracted to see the manner in which this important siege was conducted. The Mahrattas, in working a battery, never pointed their cannon so as to make a breach in a particular spot, but aimed at random all round the wall. After loading a gun they sat down, smoked, and conversed for half an hour; then fired, reloaded, and resumed their conversation. Two hours at mid-day, by mutual consent, were set apart for meals and recreation. Our engineers calculated that seven years would be spent before a breach could be effected; and Colonel Frederick, an officer of high spirit, and animated with the most eager anxiety for the success of this important service, was seized with such chagrin that he fell sick and died. However, at the end of six months the garrison, finding their provisions become scarce, and discouraged by the fall of Bangalore, proposed terms of capitulation, which were granted, though ill observed. The great Mahratta army then moved leisurely forward

into Mysore, where, in the manner before mentioned, they met with their European allies. Had Cornwallis been aware that this large force was advancing to his aid, he would probably have made every exertion to maintain his ground before Seringapatam; but the activity of the enemy's light troops completely intercepted the intelligence.

As soon as these auxiliaries arrived, the scarcity in the cantonments of the English, which previously amounted almost to famine, ceased, so far as they were willing to pay the enormous prices that were extorted from their necessities. Every article abounded in that predatory host: it exhibited "the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West,—from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of the Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor plundered village-maiden;" while "the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity utterly inconceivable in any camp, excepting that of systematic plunderers by wholesale and retail." These allies, moreover, introduced the commander to a most useful class of men, the brinjarries or grain-merchants, who, travelling in large armed bodies with their wives and children, made it their business to supply all the militant powers of Hindostan. They distributed their corn with the strictest impartiality to all who could pay for it; and the general, now amply supplied with funds, was no longer exposed to want, and easily obtained a preference over Tippoo, whose pecuniary resources were beginning to fail.

Although the army was thus relieved from the immediate pressure of distress, Lord Cornwallis did not conceive it possible to advance again upon the capital till the arrival of a more favourable season, and till a fresh battering-train and other extensive supplies should be forwarded from Madras. In the mean time the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the tremen-

dous *droogs*, or precipitous rocks, which rise like so many fortresses in this as well as in other of the elevated plains of India. Among these Nundidroog, almost inaccessible by nature, had been fortified with every care to render it impregnable, and was placed under the command of one of Tippoo's ablest officers; yet Major Gowdie, after some successful experiments upon minor forts, undertook its reduction. The only one of its faces at all capable of approach, had been strengthened near the top by a double wall; while the labour of establishing works on its steep and craggy sides, and conveying cannon to the batteries, was excessive. In twenty-one days two breaches were effected, and one morning, by clear moonlight, the assault was made by General Medows in person. The defence was vigorous; huge masses of granite were rolled down, with tremendous crash, from steep to steep; the assailants nevertheless overcame every obstacle, and forcing the interior gate, effected an entrance. During the whole siege they had only 120 killed and wounded, of whom thirty fell in the assault, chiefly by the stones precipitated from the summit.

The *droogs* being now viewed as no longer impregnable, Colonel Stuart undertook Savendroog, which bore a still more formidable character, and had been considered by the commander as a place not to be attempted. Yet after seven days' approaches and five of open batteries, it was carried by storm without the loss of a single life. Ootradroog, struck with dismay by these successes, fell with little effort; and a *coup-de-main* had meantime been attempted against Kistnagherry, the capital and bulwark of the Baramahl. This attempt failed; Colonel Maxwell being only able to burn the town, that it might not serve as a cover to predatory inroads. The sultan, in the interval, had sent an expedition to the south, which succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, in carrying Coimbetoor with its English garrison; and, violating the capitulation, by which they were to be allowed to join in safety their countrymen at Palgaut, he caused them to be marched prisoners to Seringapatam.

After some abortive attempts at negotiation, Lord Cornwallis, having completed his preparations and brought his army into a state of full equipment, determined no longer to delay his march upon the capital. He was now joined by the troops of the nizam, under his son Secunder Jah, which had been hitherto detained by the siege of Goorumconda. His followers consisted of a tumultuary host, closely resembling the corps already described, and giving little hope of an effective co-operation. Purseram Bhow, who at the head of his numerous Mahrattas might have performed with great advantage the services assigned to light cavalry, had concluded that it would be more profitable to himself to turn aside and plunder the rich country of Bednore; and to this personal interest he hesitated not to sacrifice all the grand objects of the confederacy. Captain Little, who, with a body of about a thousand men, had been attached to the host of the Bhow, was obliged to second him in all these irregular pursuits; the most arduous services devolving upon himself and his followers. At one time he was urged to attack a large detachment of Tippoo's army, stationed in an almost impenetrable jungle, covered by a deep ravine. With less than 750 bayonets he undertook the service, and, after a severe and even doubtful contest, dislodged the enemy with great loss,—an exploit considered one of the most brilliant by which this war was distinguished.

By these circumstances Lord Cornwallis was reduced to depend on the force under his own immediate command, amounting to 22,000 men, including forty-two battering-guns and forty-four field-pieces; and on that of General Abercromby, consisting of 8400 men, which he ordered immediately to approach Seringapatam. He began his march on the 1st February 1792, and by proceeding in three lines instead of one, with his ordnance and heavy baggage in the centre, his infantry and light troops on the flanks, he avoided much of the annoyance hitherto experienced from the attacks of an active enemy.

On the 5th of the month, the English army having reached a range of heights, discovered the Mysorean metropolis, in front of which Tippoo, with his whole force, amounting to between 40,000 and 50,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, appeared strongly intrenched. In Colonel Wilks' opinion, the sultan would have practised with greater advantage his original system of desultory warfare, by throwing into the city a strong garrison under a faithful commander, while he himself, with his light cavalry, might have endeavoured to intercept the supplies and communications of the enemy. It is probable, however, that he fully trusted to the strength of his present position, and also hoped, by maintaining it, that he might weary out and finally exhaust his antagonist, in the same manner as Hyder in 1767 had baffled the formidable invasion of the Mahrattas. His encampment was exceedingly strong, covered on one side by a thick bamboo-hedge and by a small river and canal, while the main body of his army was secured in front by a fortified hill and a chain of redoubts, and its rear by the works of the town and island, which, at the same time, afforded a secure retreat. This position was such as, in the opinion of many, and particularly of all the native officers, precluded every idea of attack. Lord Cornwallis, however, considered, that while his movements were delayed, this intrenchment would be continually strengthened by new works, and that his own situation, in the midst of a hostile country and of allies so little to be trusted, would become always more precarious. He determined, therefore, to make an immediate and general attack; though it appeared necessary, as in the storming of a fortress, to carry on his operations under cover of night, when the batteries by which the camp was defended could not be directed with any degree of precision.

The troops to be employed in this hazardous service were divided into three columns, under General Medows, Colonels Stuart and Maxwell; the commander with the reserve following close behind; and the whole, under a

bright moon, began to move at eight in the evening. The operations of this memorable night have been very minutely narrated, yet they are somewhat enveloped in the obscurity of the scene in which they were acted; and we should despair, without minute topographical details, of conveying to our readers a distinct comprehension of them. The officers experienced to a considerable extent the casualties and dangers of a nocturnal attack; the divisions of Colonels Stuart and Maxwell being once on the point of charging each other with the bayonet. Lord Cornwallis having entered the boundary-hedge, and searching in vain for General Medows, was attacked by a greatly superior force, against which he with difficulty maintained his ground. The general issue of the contest, however, was, that the English, when regularly brought to bear upon the enemy, carried all before them. The most critical moment was when the two divisions above mentioned, after having found a ford, undertook to force their way across the river. Being aided by an able movement of Colonel Knox, they succeeded more easily than was expected, though it was so deep that all their cartridges were spoiled by the water, and they were accordingly compelled to place their sole reliance on the bayonet. Tippoo, during the early part of the engagement, occupied a strong redoubt on the river, where he took his evening meal; but, on seeing the English divisions advance to the ford, he felt alarm as to his communication with the city, and hastened to cross it before them. He almost touched the head of the column, and had several of his attendants killed before he could reach a detached work in an angle of the fort, where he again took a station. But morning soon dawned, and discovered the British army fully established on the island, and facing the fortress without any interposing barrier. The sultan lost, it is said, no less than 23,000 men, chiefly in consequence of the multitudes who dispersed amid the confusion, and returned to their homes. A body of ten thousand, with their wives and children, rushed along the Mysore

bridge to reach the western territory. The loss on the side of our countrymen amounted only to five hundred in killed and wounded.

Tippoo, on discovering the extent of his disaster, made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. By the advice of Poornea his treasurer, he announced that two lacks of rupees would be distributed among the troops, as the most effectual mode of alluring back the numerous fugitives. He urged his soldiers to recover if possible the positions in which the British were not fully established; and several of their attacks, being supported by the artillery of the fort, were very formidable, though they were all finally baffled.

It was no longer possible for the sultan to conceal from himself that his crown and kingdom were in the most extreme peril, and indeed that a peace dictated by his enemies could alone save them. The English force under Cornwallis had singly defeated his army and besieged his capital; and that force was now about to be increased by the corps under General Abercromby, by another from the south, which had ascended the pass of Gujelhutty, and even by the Mahrattas under Purseram Bhow, who had at length been shamed or frightened out of his predatory course. There was nothing, therefore, it has been justly observed, but the general uncertainty of human things, which could leave a doubt as to his approaching downfal. He accordingly determined to seek peace on almost any conditions. Two English officers, Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken at Coimbetoor, and made prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation, were still detained at Seringapatam. They were sent for, and the first was asked if he was not an officer of rank, and a near relation of Lord Cornwallis. Notwithstanding his reply in the negative, he was released, and desired to convey to that commander the sultan's earnest wish for peace, and the proposal to send an envoy to treat for it. His lordship's answer, though it expressed deep dissatisfaction at the treatment of the captives, contained an acceptance of

this overture. An officer of distinction, Gholaum Ali, arrived in the camp, and several days were busily spent in negotiation, to which the allies, though they had been so entirely useless, were admitted on equal terms. The following was at length fixed as the ultimatum to be delivered to Tippoo:—The surrender of half his dominions, taken from districts contiguous to the territory of the confederates; the payment of three crores and thirty lacks of rupees (about £4,000,000 sterling); and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. Hard as these conditions were, they were powerfully enforced by events which had occurred in the course of the negotiation. On the night of the 18th February, while the attention of the enemy was attracted to the south side of the fort by the operations of a flying corps under Major Dalrymple and Captain Robertson, the trenches were opened on the north side with such silence and caution, that though the fort was kept blazing with blue lights for the purpose of observation, morning had arrived before the sultan discovered that this operation, so fatal to him, had commenced. A nullah or ravine had been converted into a wide and extensive parallel, where the assailants were placed so fully under cover, as to render ineffectual every attempt to interrupt their operations. This parallel was carried on and improved till the 21st, when it was completed; and in the night the line was marked out for a second. It was finished on the 23d, and the ground was fixed for the heavy batteries about 500 yards from the fort, in so advantageous a position, as to leave no doubt of a practicable breach being speedily effected.

As the crisis of his fate thus rapidly approached, Tippoo felt the necessity of coming to a prompt decision upon the proposals submitted by the British commander. He called his principal officers to meet in the great mosque, and laying before them the Koran, adjured them by that sacred book to give faithful advice in this dread emergency. He stated the terms demanded by the enemy, adding,—"You have heard the conditions

of peace, and you have now to hear and answer my question, *Shall it be peace or war?*" A reference made in such words, could leave no doubt as to the course which he felt himself under the necessity of following, and that he merely sought the sanction of his chiefs. They unanimously agreed that, under present circumstances, there remained no alternative. The scene is said to have been peculiarly affecting, and Colonel Wilks met with few that had been present who could even allude to it without tears in their eyes.

That very night Tippoo sent off, signed and sealed, the conditions transmitted to him by Lord Cornwallis. Early in the morning orders were sent to the English troops to cease from their labour in the trenches, and to forbear farther hostilities. The injunction was received with a deep feeling of disappointment. Their enthusiasm had been raised to the highest pitch; they cherished the most sanguine hopes that they should triumphantly scale the proud walls of Seringapatam, and with their own hands rescue their countrymen immured in its dungeons. The commander-in-chief, however, issued very judicious general orders, in which he exhorted them to display moderation in their present success, and to avoid any insult to their humbled adversary.

An interesting scene occurred in the fulfilment of that article of the treaty which related to the delivery of the two royal youths as hostages. We confess ourselves unable fully to perceive the object of a stipulation, conformable indeed to Indian ideas, but contrary to the more improved feelings of modern Europe. Supposing the treaty violated in the most flagrant manner, what use could have been made of the boys, or what injury done to them? However, such being the course adopted, Lord Cornwallis softened it by every species of kindness and indulgence; and in consequence of the deep distress which was understood to prevail in the palace, a day's delay was granted. Tents having been sent from the fort, and erected for their accommodation, the general offered to wait upon them; but their father wrote that it

was his particular wish they should be brought to his lordship's tent, and delivered into his own hands. They set out at one in the afternoon of the 26th, the walls being crowded with spectators, among whom was the sultan himself. They rode on elephants richly caparisoned, dressed in white muslin robes, having round their necks several rows of large pearls, intermingled with valuable jewels. The marquis received them at the door, and taking their hands in his, led them into his tent. The chief vakeel then said,—"These children were this morning the sons of the sultan, my master; their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your lordship as their father." Their reception was in fact truly paternal; they were soon relieved from all apprehension; and though the one was only eight and the other ten years of age, yet, having been trained with infinite care in every thing relating to external behaviour, they astonished all present by the dignity and ease of their deportment, and by that union of politeness and reserve which characterizes oriental courts.

After the hostages had been delivered, and a crore of rupees paid, a serious difficulty arose. The treaty stipulated the surrender of one-half of Tippoo's dominions, where they bordered on those of the allies; but there was no specification of the actual territories to be ceded,—a point so essential, that it ought, one would imagine, to have preceded the execution of any of the articles. The ceded districts were to be rated according to the revenues which they yielded. His majesty presented statements by which the produce of those contiguous to the possessions of the allies were grossly exaggerated, and the others underrated; while the nizam and Purseram Bhow were not slow to err on the opposite side, and hence the discrepancy became enormous. Meantime reports were spread of suspicious conduct on the part of the sultan, and in particular that, contrary to treaty, he was actively strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. When remonstrated with on this subject, he replied that, if they thought proper, he would throw down a bastion

and let the English see into the fort,—an answer so wild and extravagant, that it tended little to dispel apprehension.

At length his vakeels produced documents which were supposed to be authentic, and whence it appeared that the entire revenue of their master's dominions did not exceed £2,960,000. Each of the allies then picked out what best suited him; the Mahrattas extended their frontier to the Toombuddra; and the nizam carried his beyond the Pennar. The English took their share in detached portions; on the east the frontier-territory of Baramahl; in the south Dindigul; on the west a great extent of the disputed coast of Malabar, including Tellicherry and Calicut. No objection was made till it was observed that this last section included Coorg, long the subject of much deadly contest. On seeing this condition, the sultan burst into a paroxysm of rage that approached to absolute phrensy. "To which of their territories," said he, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask at once for Seringapatam? They know that I would sooner have died in the breach than have consented to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward till they had treacherously obtained my children and my treasure." Some English authors endeavour to prove that the demand ought not to have been unexpected; and yet it cannot be denied that, while all the other cessions consisted of frontier-territories, leaving untouched the mountain-barrier which encloses Mysore Proper, this included a portion of its very summit, and opened a ready access to the capital. But the truth is, that as long as Tippoo was eagerly intent on pouring his vengeance on its brave people, Lord Cornwallis could not abandon to his fury faithful allies, and a race unjustly oppressed. Upon this refusal all was again in movement,—the princes were separated from their native attendants, and arrangements entered into for despatching them to the Carnatic under an English escort,—preparations were made for renewing the siege,—the army was full of new hope and animation,—Purseram

Bhow began once more to plunder. In less than two days, however, the sultan again felt the weight of the necessity which pressed upon him, and sent notice that the demand was acceded to. A considerable delay still intervened; but, on the 18th March 1792, the definitive treaty was transmitted to the young princes, that by their hands it might be delivered. At ten in the morning of the 19th they waited on Lord Cornwallis, and the eldest presented to him all the three copies of the treaty; but as the vakeels of the two allied chiefs, who did not choose to appear in person, soon after entered, his lordship returned their copies, which the boy delivered to them in a manly though evidently less cordial manner; and on hearing something muttered by the Mahratta envoy, asked what he grumbled at, hastily adding, "they might well be silent, as certainly their masters had no reason to be displeased."

General Dirom calculates, that after deducting the Company's share of the sum exacted from Tippoo, the extraordinary expenses of this war would scarcely amount to two millions sterling. Every department had been conducted with the strictest economy. Instead of the large grants that had accrued to individuals from the conquest of Bengal, the prize-money in three campaigns amounted only to £93,584, which, after Cornwallis and Medows had given up their shares, and the Company had added a large gratuity, only allowed to a colonel £1161, 12s., and to a private soldier £14, 11s. 9d. The losses sustained by the sultan during the period of hostility are estimated by the same author at 49,340 men, 67 forts, and 801 guns.

This celebrated treaty has been the subject of much controversy; nor do the views which influenced Lord Cornwallis seem ever to have been fully understood. It appears to have effected either too little or too much. The cessions extorted were such as to preclude all hope of future friendship; for they inevitably created in the mind of a proud, ambitious, and restless prince, a feeling of deadly enmity, as well as an incessant desire to retrieve

his lost greatness ; while they left him a degree of power which might easily become formidable in the hands of such an enemy.

Notwithstanding these unpromising circumstances, six years elapsed without any violation of the treaty ; and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father in 1794. Tippoo saw no prospect of making war with advantage ; and Sir John Shore, who succeeded as governor-general, followed a strictly pacific system, which he was even accused of carrying to excess. His policy was particularly questioned in the case of the nizam, when the Mahrattas, his late allies, carried into effect their long-cherished design of invading and plundering his territories. The engagements entered into with this ruler previous to the commencement of the Mysore war, though somewhat vague, were such as reasonably led him, in that event, to look for British protection. The new governor, however, considered himself as strictly precluded by his instructions from engaging in any contest that was not purely defensive. The nizam, in the exigency to which he was thus reduced, had recourse to a Frenchman named Raymond, who possessed no ordinary share of enterprise and martial skill. He succeeded also in alluring into the service of his employer a great number of French officers, and with their aid organized a large body of troops, who were superior to any native force, with the exception of the sepoys trained in the British army. Tippoo, meantime, was busily employed in attempting to improve his military system, though, from want of means and practical information, he met with very imperfect success.

Such was the state of affairs, when in May 1798 the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, went out as governor-general. This nobleman, whose splendid career was destined to eclipse that of Clive, was sent with the most solemn injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which, throughout the whole of his administration, he did actually pursue. He was

instructed not to engage, if possible, in hostilities with any native power; and yet he waged deadly war with every one of them. He was desired not to add by conquest a single acre to the Company's territory, and he subdued for them all India from the Himmaleh to Cape Comorin. Yet his adherents contend that he acted steadily and uniformly in the spirit of his instructions; and that, in deviating so widely from the wishes of his employers, he was carried along by a current of circumstances which existed prior to any step taken by him in the government of that country.

He had no sooner assumed the exercise of authority, than his attention was roused by a most remarkable proceeding on the part of the sovereign of Mysore. That prince, like his father Hyder, had been long connected in close alliance with the French, as the power by whose aid he hoped to subvert the dominion of the English. This connexion was in a great measure broken by the expulsion of those allies from India upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war; but Tippoo had listened with the utmost eagerness to the accounts of their success against Britain and the continental nations, and had been led to hope for their assistance in the re-establishment of his own greatness. While he was in this disposition, Ripaud, the captain of a French privateer, arrived at Mangalore, in the beginning of the year 1797, to solicit the means of repairing his shattered vessel. There he met with Gholaum Ali, whom the sultan had formerly employed on an embassy to France; and, finding a field open for the display of a little vain-glory, he represented himself as second in command at the Mauritius, and stated that he had come to give notice of a large force being ready at that island to co-operate with them in driving from India their common enemy. He was immediately forwarded to Seringapatam, where the monarch, contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, who assured him that this stranger was an impostor, received him into his entire confidence. After a number of little arrangements and transactions, he

sent two ambassadors along with Ripaud to the Isle of France, to adjust the terms of a treaty offensive and defensive. This mission arrived at the Mauritius, where they were altogether unexpected; but when Malartic, the governor, learned their purpose, animated by that desire to promote national interests which generally characterizes his countrymen, he determined to give them a cordial reception. They landed under a salute of artillery, were conducted to the government-house, and received there in state. Malartic expressed the utmost readiness to accede to the proposals of their master, which were no less than that he should send an army of 25,000 or 30,000 men to assist in conquering the English, the nizam, and the Mahrattas, and to divide all India between them. The arrangement was fully completed, with the important exception that, to compose the powerful force by which these mighty projects were to be accomplished, there did not exist a single soldier. All that could be done was to transmit the plan, accompanied with strong recommendations, to the Executive Directory; and, in the mean time, to invite as many as possible of the Frenchmen and natives resident on the island to enrol as volunteers. With the most palpable imprudence, the governor issued a proclamation, announcing the arrival of the ambassadors and the object they had in view, and calling upon all the citizens who had any martial spirit to enlist under the banners of the Mysorean sovereign, who made the most liberal offers of pay and allowances. They thus succeeded in levying exactly ninety-nine persons,—a motley group,—Europeans, creoles, citizens, soldiers, sailors; and with this troop, for want of more and better, the ambassadors were fain to depart. They landed at Mangalore on the 26th April 1798; when the sultan, though galled at the utter disappointment of his expectations, and the rash exposure made at the Mauritius, had still the means of averting the danger. He might have disowned the envoys, and refused their mock auxiliaries, while, by secret explanations he might at the same time have contrived to keep

open the communication with France. But he seems to have been in a state of blind and violent excitation. The embassy, with their slender accompaniment, were welcomed to the capital, where they founded a Jacobin club, planted the tree of liberty surmounted with the cap of equality, and on the public parade hailed the bigoted Mohammedan as "Citizen Tippoo." In these republican forms he cordially concurred, although wholly ignorant of their true meaning; imagining them to be the badges of a mystic association, whose members were to devote themselves to his aggrandizement.

These proceedings were fully communicated to the governor-general, who immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors his decided opinion, that they were equivalent to "a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war," and that "an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan appeared to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy." These conclusions have been generally assented to by British officers and politicians; yet Mr Mill, with his usual anxiety to escape national partialities, has not hesitated to assert, that the above incidents afforded no ground for attacking, or reason for dreading, the sovereign of Mysore, beyond what previously existed. No doubt, it is said, could be entertained, ever since the last peace, of his deep hostility against the English, and his disposition to embrace any opportunity of regaining his lost territories. There was, we admit, the most reasonable presumption of the existence, in his mind, of such sentiments. Well-founded, however, as this suspicion was, the governor had no right to proceed upon it without some overt act; it being something very different from the positive conclusion of a compact aiming directly at the destruction of the British power in India. It is argued, moreover, that the treaty, having been entered into without any means of fulfilling it, might safely have been regarded as nugatory, and altogether neglected. This reasoning cannot be held conclusive, unless there were some certainty that the sultan could not obtain the means of carrying into

effect those hostile schemes in which he had so eagerly engaged. But it is well known that he could depend upon the co-operation of the greatest military power in the world, animated, too, with the most rancorous feeling towards Britain, and peculiarly desirous to strike a blow against her in this very quarter. The only security lay in the dominion of the seas, which England had fully established; though experience has shown that no fleet, however triumphant, can hermetically seal the ports of a great country, or even prevent a squadron from finding its way to the most distant regions. This had just been made evident, as Bonaparte, in the face of the British navy, had recently landed in Egypt a force sufficient to conquer it; an expedition, too, which was generally believed to be undertaken with an ultimate view to India. The perils of a French invasion of that country were then, perhaps, generally overrated; now, after the event, they are probably too much despised; for it seems highly probable that the republican government, had they not been involved in a series of continental wars, would have attempted to transport a large army into the East,—and it is by no means certain that they would not have succeeded.

The dangers to be apprehended from Tippoo were moreover greatly increased by the actual position of the neighbouring states. The only two by which his power could be balanced were the Mahrattas and the nizam. The former confederacy, notwithstanding its great extent, was now in so distracted a state that the peishwa, its nominal head, could scarcely maintain his authority against the turbulent chiefs who were struggling for supremacy. The dominions of the other were also ill organized, and his troops quite undisciplined. His chief military strength lay in the corps trained after the European manner by Raymond, which in a few years had been raised from 1500 to 10,000, and arrangements were now making to increase it to 14,000. These troops, however, were so far from affording a ground of confidence to the English that they were felt

as sure and deadly enemies. It had long been a fixed policy of the French government thus to employ their officers among the native powers, in the view of exalting their own influence and depressing that of their rivals. Little doubt was entertained that, if Tippoo once raised a hostile standard, this and similar corps would soon flock round it, and make a formidable addition to his forces. That prince, moreover, was carrying on active intrigues with the courts both of Poonah and Hydrabad, the fidelity of which to the British alliance was by no means assured. He had sent also an embassy to the Afghan potentate Zemaun Shah, the most powerful of those who then held sway over the destinies of India, and an invasion from whom was considered very probable. Thus, it was clear, a very trifling change of political relations might lead to the formation of an overwhelming confederacy against the English provinces.

Under these circumstances, the Marquis Wellesley considered it of great importance to commence immediate operations with a view to the attainment of certain concessions which he was sensible would never be voluntarily made. These included the giving up by Tippoo of all his territory on the coast of Malabar, and his complete exclusion from the sea,—the banishment of all Frenchmen from his dominions,—the admission of a permanent resident at his court, and the reduction of his resources by making him pay the expense of the contest. The governor-general hoped, by a *coup-de-main*, to have suddenly carried these objects before the Indian prince could make preparations or procure alliances. Great, however, was his mortification to learn that the Coromandel army, so far from being adequate to such an achievement, was quite insufficient to the defence of the Carnatic. This arose chiefly from the want of cattle and other means of transport, which rendered it wholly unable to keep pace with the rapid movements of the sultan, who, had he then invaded the British territories, might have ravaged them unresisted from one end to the other. The earliest period when it

was supposed this deficiency could be supplied was three months; while Lieutenant-colonel Close, a high authority, thought it would require six. On the 8th September, Lord Clive, then governor of Madras, considering that the season of action was only from January to May, did not think the campaign could be opened till the beginning of the year 1800; yet such activity did the marquis infuse into the conduct of affairs, that in October 1798 an adequate force was assembled, and early next January preparations were in so advanced a state as to afford the prospect of its being speedily able to move. Meantime an important preliminary operation had been effected.

Immediate attention was required to the strong corps formed under French officers at the capital of Hydrabad, and upon this point the governor-general determined to adopt the most decisive measures. Captain Kirkpatrick, resident at that court, was instructed to lay before the nizam the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which he was to be guaranteed against the attack of all his enemies. In support of this pledge, four English battalions, with a body of artillery, in addition to the two already stationed there, were to be sent to his capital; but he was informed that the regiments commanded by the French must be immediately dissolved, and themselves dismissed. The movement of a large body of troops to the frontier intimated that these propositions were not meant to be optional. The nizam was involved in much doubt and perplexity. He is said to have been disgusted by the insolent and domineering conduct of the foreign officers; but he dreaded to see his country made the theatre of a contest between the rival nations; still more, perhaps, he foresaw that, by the proposed arrangement, he would become completely the vassal of England. At length, on the 1st September 1798, he signed the treaty, which was ratified at Calcutta on the 18th, and carried into effect with such expedition, that on the 10th October the new subsidiary force arrived at Hydrabad. His highness again relapsed into all his doubt and irresolution, and endeavoured to evade or delay every

decisive step, till Colonel Roberts, the commander, cutting short all discussion, marched up to the French cantonments, and on the 22d formed a circle round them. The troops, at once dreading a conflict with the English, and discontented on account of their arrears of pay, rose in mutiny against their chiefs; when, on being assured of the money due to them, and of future service under other leaders, they laid down their arms. Thus, in a few hours, without a blow being struck, was dissolved a corps of fourteen thousand men, having an arsenal filled with military stores, and a handsome train of artillery.

Wellesley, having by these means secured the co-operation of the Hydrabad forces, and, at the same time, by indefatigable exertions rendered his military establishment efficient, determined to bring affairs to an immediate crisis. His correspondence with Tippoo had continued friendly till the 8th November 1798, when he wrote a letter, in which, after discussing some general topics, he observed, that it was impossible the sultan could suppose him ignorant or indifferent as to the intercourse maintained by him with the French, the inveterate foes of Britain. He and his allies, he added, had on that account been obliged to adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence. Anxious, however, to suggest a plan which might promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, he proposed to depute Major Doveton, an officer well known to the sultan (having been employed in 1794 in conveying back to him the young princes detained as hostages), "who," said he, "will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion." On the 10th December the governor-general forwarded another communication, announcing that he was on the point of setting out for Madras, where he hoped to receive his reply.

Tippoo, apparently before receiving the first despatch, had written, on the 20th November, an expostulation, in rather amicable terms, upon the military preparations

of the English, and a profession of his own pacific disposition; but the letter of 8th November was followed by a long and suspicious silence. The demands of the governor-general would, at this time, have been very moderate, confined to the dismissal of French emissaries, and the exchange of a part of the coast of Malabar for a territory of equal value in the interior. But the sultan, who foresaw that some demands were to be made upon him, could not bring down his mind to the necessity of submission. He still placed a vague confidence in destiny, in the aid of foreigners, and in alliances which he hoped to form with the northern powers of India. At length, on the 18th December, probably after receiving the despatch of the 10th, though he did not acknowledge it, he wrote a long explanatory paper. He represented the French affair as only the casual arrival of a party of strangers in search of employment, which he had granted to a few; and he expressed extreme surprise that there should be any idea of the interruption of mutual amity. Referring to the proposed mission of Major Doveton, he observed that "the treaties and engagements entered into were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable, and be an example to the rulers of the age. I cannot imagine that means more effectual than these can be adopted for promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." It seems impossible to regard Lord Wellesley's interpretation as strained, when he considered this note as implying an absolute rejection of the embassy, and a determination against any concession beyond those made by former treaties.

In reply to it, accordingly, his lordship, having arrived at Madras, wrote, on the 9th January 1799, a long memorial, fully explaining all his grounds of complaint. He gave a narrative of the transactions at the Isle of France, enclosing a copy of Malartic's proclamation, and finally inferred, that "his Highness' ambassadors had concluded an offensive alliance with the French against the Company and its allies; that they had demanded

military succours and levied troops with a view to its prosecution; that his Highness had sanctioned the conduct of his ambassadors, and had received into his army the troops which they had levied; that having made military preparations of his own, he was evidently ready, had the succours obtained been sufficient, to have commenced an unprovoked attack on the Company's possessions, and had broken the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the allies." Deeply regretting that the offered mission of Major Doveton had not been accepted, he still urged it as a means of conciliation, but earnestly requested that not above one day should elapse previous to its acceptance. On the 16th he sent another letter, enclosing one to the sultan from the Grand Seignior, transmitted through Mr Spencer Smith, and also that monarch's declaration of war against the French. At this stage of the proceedings attempts were made to work upon the Mohammedan zeal of Tippoo, and to induce him to resent the attack made by that people upon the head of his religion; at the same time the reception of Doveton was again pressed. After a long silence, there arrived at Madras on the 13th February 1799, without date, the following short and singular epistle:—

"I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a camel-man the last by hircarrahs, and understood their contents. The letter of the prince, in station like Jumsheid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars; the sun illumining the world of the heaven of empire and dominion; the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power; the sultan of the sea and the land, the King of Room (the Grand Seignior), be his empire and his power perpetual! addressed to me, which reached you through the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived.—Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting-excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Dove-

ton, about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly attended. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare."

This strange reply might certainly have created a doubt whether it was not designed as an evasion, or even an insult; though Colonel Wilks afterwards learned from the Mysorean chiefs, that it was meant for a real consent, though somewhat forced and ungracious. The letter of the 9th January had fully opened Tippoo's eyes to his alarming situation. He was thrown into a state of suspense and violent agitation, venting imprecations against all who had been concerned in the mission to the Isle of France, and exclaiming, "the fractured mast of Ripaud's worthless vessel will cause the subversion of an empire." He made, however, a reluctant movement to the eastward, with the view of meeting Major Doveton; but Wellesley now considered the time as passed when such an arrangement could be advantageously admitted. The monsoon, which begins in June, would put a stop to military operations, so that to enter at present upon a negotiation would enable his enemy to gain a whole year, in the course of which he might hope to procure allies and reinforcements from various quarters. On receiving, therefore, no answer by the 3d of February, the governor-general had ordered the armies to advance; and on the arrival of the sultan's letter, he wrote to him on the 22d February, announcing that the mission of Doveton could no longer be attended with the expected advantages; that his long silence had rendered it necessary to command the approach of the troops; but that General Harris was empowered to receive any embassy, and to enter into any explanations by which a treaty might be arranged, on such conditions as should appear to the allies indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace. Tippoo, however, even before receiving this notice, either suspecting that his consent had not produced the intended effect, or moved by his own inconsistent disposition, had determined to try the fortune of arms.

The army appointed to invade the kingdom of Mysore consisted of 4381 European and 10,695 native infantry; 884 European and 1751 native cavalry, with 608 gunners; forming in all 18,319 fighting-men, with 104 pieces of cannon, and 2483 lascars and pioneers. To these were added 10,157 infantry and 6000 horse belonging to the nizam, and which, under British command, now formed an effective body of troops. In the mean time General Stuart, a veteran in Indian warfare, was advancing with 6420 men from Malabar to join and co-operate with the main army.

General Harris was furnished with the plans of two treaties, to be selected according to circumstances. The first, which was to be produced in the event of the army merely arriving before Seringapatam, required the cession to Britain of the coast of Malabar, and an equal extent of territory to each of the two allies; the reception of a resident ambassador; the expulsion of all natives of European countries at war with Great Britain, and the payment of 150 lacks of rupees. In case, however, the events of the campaign should not open the prospect of a successful termination this season, these terms might be modified according to circumstances; but every effort should be made to inspire the sultan with fear, from which alone any concession could be hoped. If again the trenches were actually opened before the capital, with the prospect of its speedy reduction, the second treaty was to be produced, in which peace was to be granted only upon the cession of half his dominions.

Tippoo, anxious to strike a blow at the commencement of the campaign, had the penetration to discern the advantage which he derived from the detached state of the invading armies proceeding from Malabar and Coromandel. He might thus attack the former, when it had just ascended the Ghauts, and taken a defensive position amid the hills and forests which enclose the territory of Coorg. Accordingly, by a rapid movement to the westward, he arrived, on the 5th March 1799, very unexpectedly in their neighbourhood; and the Eng-

lish, who conceived that the main force of the enemy was still on the opposite side of India, were somewhat disconcerted. General Stuart had stationed a corps under Colonel Montresor eight miles in advance, on the hill of Sedaseer, to observe any signal which might be made by the eastern army. Much surprise was felt when a number of tents appeared on the ground in front, which gradually swelled to several hundreds, and composed a formidable encampment. Among others, belonging apparently to chiefs of distinction, there was a very large one covered with green, which was concluded to be that of the sultan himself; and yet so contrary was this to all previous intelligence, that Stuart merely reinforced the party on the hill with a single battalion, and waited to act according to circumstances. At daybreak, General Hartley, from a height, discovered an appearance of activity among the opposite troops. It does not appear very clear why the commander did not immediately concentrate his forces, by either marching forward himself, or ordering the advance under Montresor to fall back. In fact, the Indian army penetrated through the jungle with such secrecy and expedition, that between nine and ten in the morning they had completely surrounded that officer's brigade, attacking it at once in front and rear. It maintained most gallantly an arduous conflict till after two o'clock, when General Stuart came up, and after a brisk charge obliged the enemy to retreat in all directions through the thicket. The advanced corps being immediately withdrawn, Tippoo had a pretence for claiming a victory; but the casualties on our side, which amounted only to 29 killed, 98 wounded, and 16 missing, sufficiently showed that he had failed in his object of striking a decisive blow. Even by his own statement, his loss included several chiefs of rank; and this was the last action in which he displayed any military genius. He effected a complete surprise, and the destruction of the English corps was averted only by its own extraordinary valour and the inferiority of his troops in a pitched battle.

The sultan hastened back to oppose the main army

advancing against him from Coromandel. It might now have appeared evident that his only resource was, by recurring to the ancient military policy of his house, to throw a strong garrison into Seringapatam, to keep the field with large bodies of cavalry, and by continual movements to intercept the enemy's communications, cut off his supplies, and surprise his detachments. He might thus either have defended his throne, or have remained powerful after its fall. His plan, however, appears to have been to contend with the English according to their own method, in regular warfare and by pitched battles. To this system he had been partial ever since Lord Cornwallis' first retreat after the engagement fought near his capital. But even there Tippoo was beaten ; and the subsequent retreat had been occasioned solely by the want of supplies and equipments, produced by the desultory warfare previously waged. During the peace, he made great exertions to assimilate his force to a European army, and his success had been such as to render him an overmatch for any of the native powers ; but the cavalry, the instrument by which all the triumphs of his family over the English were achieved, had been comparatively neglected.

The British were now advancing into the heart of his dominions ; and the comprehensive mind of Marquis Wellesley instantly saw it to be his true policy not to detain himself with any secondary object, but to strike at once at Seringapatam, the reduction of which would be followed by the entire downfal of the sultan. All our writers agree in stating, that no army could be in a higher state of equipment than the one which now took the field under General Harris ; yet the march, though he did not encounter any serious resistance, was very slow. He passed the frontier only on the 5th, and made the first united movement on the 10th March 1799, the time that had been fixed as the latest at which he ought to have arrived at the capital. Certain authors speak as if in this tardy progress there were some mystery which could never be developed ; but the delay seems suffi-

ciently explained by an allusion to the ample supplies which he carried with him. He conveyed, by means of sixty thousand ill-trained oxen and careless drivers, several months' provisions for his whole army, and a battering-train to reduce a fortress, the fall of which was expected to bring with it that of the whole kingdom.

When he had reached Malavilly, about thirty miles from the capital, the sultan's encampment was observed from the heights, and General Floyd, with the advance, having approached within a mile of that village, discovered their whole force posted on the elevated ground behind it. An attack being immediately determined on, it was led by Colonel Wellesley, supported by Floyd's cavalry, and directed against the enemy's right. A column of their troops advanced in perfect order and with great gallantry; but the English infantry, reserving their fire, received that of their antagonists at the distance of sixty yards, rushed upon them and broke their ranks, when a resolute charge by the horse drove them off the field. The whole of the Indian line then gave way, and a general retreat ensued, which Harris, who was greatly inferior in cavalry and light troops, did not attempt to molest. The loss was not very serious on either side; but an additional proof was given how unable even the flower of the Eastern armies was to contend in pitched battle with the British.

Tippoo made another attempt to carry into effect his plan of desultory warfare. He had removed or destroyed all the forage, and almost every blade of grass on the highway between his enemy's position and the capital; and he hovered round, ready to fall upon their rear, as they marched along this desolated route. But he was completely disappointed by the movement of General Harris, who after leaving Malavilly turned to the left, crossed the Cavery at the fords of Sosilla, and proceeded to Seringapatam along the southern bank of that river, a resolution which, being wholly unexpected, no precautions had been taken to defeat. On seeing their last scheme thus baffled, the sultan and his principal officers

were struck with deep dismay and despondence. Having assembled them in council, he said:—"We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. A unanimous resolution was formed to try again the fortune of the field, with the alternative only of victory or death. All present were deeply affected; one of the chiefs, before taking leave, threw himself prostrate and clasped the feet of his master, the usual sign in India of the most solemn farewell. The latter could not refrain from tears; his example quickly spread through the whole assembly; and they parted as men who had met for the last time in this world. But the final crisis was not yet arrived. Tippoo had expected that the English commander would proceed to the *eastern* extremity of the island of Seringapatam, cross the branch of the Cavery that enclosed it, and establish himself on the ground formerly occupied by Lord Cornwallis. But General Harris chose to make a circuit, which would bring his army opposite to the western point of the island and fortress; thus avoiding the wasted tract prepared for him, and, at the same time, opening a more ready communication with the Bombay army under Stuart, and the fertile districts in the south. Besides, in that quarter he had every reason to expect a more favourable opportunity for attack. This expedient also enabled him to avoid the ground on which the sultan had purposed to give battle; and that chief, thwarted in all his measures, threw himself into the town, with the resolution of defending it to the last extremity.

On the 5th April, the British took their station opposite the western front of the fortress, at the distance of about two miles. The position was strong; their right resting on elevated ground, their left upon the river Cavery; and several *topes*, or groves of trees, afforded ample materials for the construction of the works. The enemy still occupied a defensive line behind an aqueduct, on which Colonels Wellesley and Shawe made a night-attack and were repulsed; but, be-

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ing reinforced, they carried it in open day. Meanwhile Floyd was detached to meet and escort General Stuart and the Bombay army. On the evening of the 13th, their signal-guns were heard; and they arrived late on the 14th, having been beset on their way by the whole body of the Mysorean cavalry, yet without sustaining any serious loss. General Floyd then marched to the southward in search of provisions; for an unexpected and alarming discovery had been made, that there was grain in the camp for only eighteen days' consumption. This extraordinary failure, into which Colonel Wilks mysteriously says, that after the lapse of nearly twenty years it was not yet time to inquire, did not, however, as supplies were obtained from various quarters, prove an impediment to the progress of the siege.

Meantime deep deliberation had been held as to the point whence the town might be most advantageously attacked. There was a south-western angle, by assailing which the besiegers could have obtained a lodgement on the island, and been thereby secured from the expected swelling of the Cavery, while at the extreme west, the walls, extending along the very brink of that river, could be reached only by crossing its channel. The fortifications at the first point, however, appeared both strong and complicated; while the most western angle projected beyond the main body of the fortress, and was not duly flanked or protected by the other defences. Besides, while regularly attacked from the south, it could be enfiladed from the northern bank of the Cavery. The river, too, evidently appeared fordable, as both men and cattle were seen passing without difficulty; and it was confidently expected that before the monsoon had augmented its waters, the campaign would be over. In pursuance of these views, General Stuart crossed the stream, and notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, and one very brisk sally by the garrison, succeeded in gaining a position in which he could effectually co-operate with the main attack.

On the 9th April, Tippoo wrote a letter to General

Harris, in which he merely asked why the English had entered his country, and made war upon him contrary to subsisting treaties, which he had never violated. The general in return briefly referred him to the communications of Marquis Wellesley, which had put an end to the correspondence. Wilks, who usually lets us into the interior of the Mysore councils, leaves us here in the dark as to the views by which the Indian chief was actuated. Meantime the trenches had been opened, and the works proceeded regularly and rapidly. On the 20th and 26th, two strongly-intrenched posts, which guarded the approaches to the wall, were carried by attacks under the direction, the one of Colonel Sherbrooke and the other of Colonel Wellesley. Before the second of these actions, the sultan, seeing his defences successively fall, and the siege quickly advancing to its termination, resolved again to solicit peace, though sensible it must be purchased with extensive sacrifices. He wrote, referring to the despatches of the governor-general, and proposing a conference of ambassadors. General Harris, in reply, after taking a view of recent events, announced, as the positive ultimatum, the cession of half his dominions, the payment of two crores of rupees, one immediately, and another in six months; finally, the delivery of four of his sons and four of his principal chiefs as hostages. These conditions were to be accepted in twenty-four hours, and the hostages and specie delivered on the following day; otherwise he reserved the right of extending these demands, till they should include even the provisional occupation of Seringapatam.

These terms, certainly not favourable, roused in the proud mind of Tippoo a violent burst of indignation. He raved against the arrogance and tyranny of the English, and declared his determination to abide the worst decrees of fate, and rather to die with arms in his hands, than drag a wretched life as a dependant upon infidels, thereby swelling the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs; he resolved, in short, not to give a reply. But six days afterwards, when the parallel had been com-

pleted, and nothing remained except the erection of the breaching-batteries, he again brought down his mind to the attempt to gain either delay or mitigation in the conditions of the treaty. A communication was received from him on the 28th, acknowledging the letter of General Harris as a friendly one, but adding, that as the points in question were weighty and not to be concluded without the intervention of ambassadors, he proposed to send two vakeels, or confidential messengers, to treat upon the subject. The general, however, was fully determined not to admit any such overture. In his reply he claimed credit for not making an advance on the terms already proposed, when by non-compliance they had been virtually declined. They were still offered; but no ambassadors could be admitted, unless accompanied by the hostages and the treasure; and the time during which they would be received was to terminate next day at three o'clock. On perusing this answer, the energies of his mind seemed entirely to fail. Yielding to despair and grief rather than rage, he sunk into a state of stupor, alternating with paroxysms of extravagant and groundless exultation. He no longer took any steady view of his danger, or rationally followed out the means by which it might still have been averted.

At sunset, on the 28th, the place was marked out for the breaching-batteries; and, as they were only four hundred yards from the wall, no doubt was entertained of their speedily effecting their object. Two, of five and six guns respectively, were erected, seventy yards distant from each other; but as only one could be completed by the morning of the 30th, its shot was directed, not against the spot intended to be breached, which it was not desirable the enemy should yet know, but against the adjoining bastion, whose fire might have taken the assailants in flank. Enfilading batteries were also constructed, which were expected to render it impossible for the enemy to remain on the walls during the assault. On the 2d May, the two principal batteries were completed, and opened their full fire upon the part of the wall called

the curtain. In the course of that day the works sustained extensive damage, and in twenty-four hours the breach became nearly practicable: in which view fascines, scaling-ladders, and other implements of storm, were brought into the trenches. During the previous night Lieutenant Lalor had crossed the river, which he found easily fordable, with a smooth rocky bottom, the retaining-wall of the fortress being only seven feet high, and presenting no obstacle whatever to the passage of troops. On the night of the third there was a practicable breach of a hundred feet wide, and one o'clock on the following day was fixed as the hour of assault.

The sultan, meantime, as the term of his life and empire approached, instead of employing the usual means of deliverance from this extreme peril, occupied himself only in superstitious and delusive modes of prying into futurity. He had recourse, in his despair, even to the hated and persecuted Bramins, whom he desired to practise, though at immense cost, their wild and mystic incantations. All the astrologers, whether from hostile feelings to his highness, or from seeing that their credit could not be otherwise supported, announced the most imminent danger; prescribing, however, some absurd ceremonies and oblations by which it might possibly be averted. Under their directions he went through a solemn ablution, offered a pompous sacrifice, and steadily contemplated his face reflected in a jar of oil. Somewhat reassured by these sage precautions, and persuading himself that no attempt would be made during that day, he had sat down to his forenoon meal, when tidings arrived that the enemy were scaling the ramparts. He ran to meet them.

The morning of the fourth day of May 1799 had been busily spent by the English in completing the breach and making preparations for the assault. The storming-party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the top of the rampart. The command was intrusted to

Sir David Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the gloomy dungeons of that fortress which he was now about to enter as a conqueror. The troops, in silent and awful expectation, awaited the decisive moment. A few minutes before one o'clock, Baird sent orders to the several regiments, desiring every man to be ready at an instant's notice. When the crisis came, he mounted the parapet, and stood in full view of both armies, in an heroic attitude, heightened by his noble and commanding figure. He then said, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers." Both columns sprung forward like lightning; and seven minutes had not elapsed, when, in the face of a dreadful cannonade, the foremost assailants had crossed the river, leaped over the ditch, mounted the breach, and planted their colours on its summit. They were met by a gallant band of Mysoreans, from whose attack they suffered severely; but the breach was soon crowded with our soldiers, who overcame every obstacle, and established themselves on the rampart. Then, according to the orders received, they pushed on to the right and left along the top of the wall. The right detachment being supported by a powerful enfilading fire from the batteries, drove before them the enemy, who scarcely making any resistance fled out of the fort in great numbers,—and many, letting themselves drop from the wall by their turbans, were dashed against the rocky bottom and killed. The English thus cleared the whole of the southern rampart, and arrived at the eastern, where their advanced guard came in view of the palace.

The left column, meantime, encountered much more serious obstacles. On reaching the top of the wall they discovered, to their surprise, a deep ditch separating it from an inner rampart, where the enemy, in great force, kept up a destructive fire. The garrison at this point, too, animated by the arrival of the sultan in person, gallantly defended successive traverses, formed across the path of the assailants. The situation of the latter now

became critical; all the commissioned officers who led the attack were either killed or wounded; and Lieutenant Farquhar, having assumed the command, immediately fell, and was succeeded by Brigade-major Lambton. Meantime, Captain Goodall, with a detachment from the right, had forced his way over the ditch, seized the inner rampart, and commenced upon the enemy a flanking-fire similar to that with which they had so severely annoyed his countrymen. The Mysoreans were accordingly driven to a spot where they beheld in their rear the other column which had advanced in the opposite direction. Seeing themselves thus completely hemmed in, they fled tumultuously, escaping by every possible outlet from the fortress, which was thus left completely in the hands of the besiegers.

General Baird, meantime, after the triumphant success of the right column, had allowed his troops an interval of rest, when certain officers brought notice that they had discovered the palace, and seen in a species of durbar or court a number of persons assembled, several of whom appeared to be of high consideration. The commander immediately directed Major Allan, who seems to have been well qualified for this delicate task, to summon them to an immediate surrender, in order to avert the calamities that would be inevitable were the royal residence to be taken by storm. This officer, on going towards the palace, saw several persons on a sort of balcony, to whom he announced his message. They manifested the greatest consternation, and soon brought the killedar or governor, who appeared much embarrassed, and endeavoured to gain time; but the major insisted upon entering with two other officers, by a broken part of the wall. He found a terrace, on which there was a numerous assemblage of armed men, before whom he laid his conditions, and laboured to tranquillize their minds, not only by presenting a white flag, but by placing his sword in their hands. They appeared alarmed and irresolute, positively declaring that Tippoo was not in the house, though his family and two of his sons were; but, on

the major's urging the necessity of speedy decision, they withdrew as if for consultation. Persons were observed moving hastily backward and forward through the halls, in a manner that caused some anxiety ; but Major Allan, fearing to excite suspicion or betray any symptom of doubt, declined the advice of his companions to take back his sword. At length, on his urgent solicitation, he was admitted to see the princes, whom he found seated on a carpet, surrounded by numerous attendants. "The recollection," says the major, "of Moiz-ad-Dien, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up, with his brother, hostages to Marquis Cornwallis,—the sad reverse of their fortunes,—their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal, was but too evident,—excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Moiz-ad-Dien by the hand, and endeavoured by every mode in my power to remove his fears." This prince concurred with the others in giving assurance that the *padsha* was not in the palace,—and, on the urgent representation of the English officers, he agreed, with strong reluctance, that the gate should be thrown open. General Baird had already approached with a considerable force, and instantly sent back the major with Colonel Close to bring out the princes. After expressing much alarm and many objections, they allowed themselves to be conducted into the presence of the British commander. The general was greatly irritated, from having just heard that thirteen prisoners had been murdered during the siege ; and his feelings were probably heightened by the recollection of his own sufferings in the same place ; but, when he saw these unfortunate youths led out as captives, every harsher sentiment yielded to that of pity, and he gave them the most solemn assurances that they had nothing to fear. They were escorted to the camp with arms presented, and all the honours due to their rank.

Sir David's object being now to obtain possession of the person of the sultan, he proceeded with a body of troops to make the most diligent search in every corner of

the palace. He forbore, indeed, to enter the zenana, but strictly guarded every passage by which any one could leave it. No trace of the individual he sought could any where be found; till at length, by severe threats, a confession was extorted from the killedar, that his royal master was lying wounded, as he supposed, in a gateway, to which he offered to conduct the conqueror. The latter immediately accompanied him to the spot, where he beheld a mournful spectacle: it was here that the fiercest combat had raged; the wounded and dead were lying piled in heaps over each other; while the darkness which had just fallen rendered the scene still more dismal. It was indispensable, however, immediately to ascertain the fact; torches were brought, and the bodies successively removed till they discovered the sultan's horse, then his palanquin, and beneath it a wounded man, who was soon recognised as a confidential servant, and who pointed out the spot where his sovereign had fallen. The body was found, and forthwith identified by the killedar and the other attendants. The features were in no degree distorted, but presented an aspect of stern composure; the eyes were open, and the appearance of life was so strong, that Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan could not, for some time, believe him actually dead. It appears that, after having issued armed from the palace, with a band of trusty followers, he saw the English advancing along the rampart, and his men fleeing. He rallied them by the utmost efforts of his voice and example, shooting several of the enemy with his own hand; and he thus called forth that resistance which had proved so formidable. At length, when the determined valour of the British troops prevailed against all opposition, he was left at one time almost alone, and obliged to accompany the fugitives; but, with a few resolute adherents, he maintained the combat, till, being exposed to a fire from different quarters, he received two musket-balls in the side. His horse was killed under him; and, becoming faint with loss of blood, he was unable to make his way through the crowd. He was over-

taken by a party of the conquerors, when one of his attendants besought him, as the only means of saving his life, to make himself known; but he peremptorily forbade the disclosure. An English soldier then made an attempt to detach his sword-belt, when the sultan, with all his remaining strength, made a cut at him, and wounded him on the knee. The man presently fired, the ball entered the temple, and the wound proved speedily mortal. The body was carried to the palace, and was afterwards interred, with royal honours, in the splendid sepulchre of the Lâll Baug, erected by Hyder.

Thus terminated a dynasty, which, though short, and limited in respect of territorial dominion, was undoubtedly the most vigorous and best organized of any that had sprung out of the wreck of the Mogul empire. It arose, indeed, from the distracted state of India, and rested almost entirely on the personal character of its two rulers, the qualities of whose minds, striking though dissimilar, we have had repeated occasion to describe. It may be farther noticed, however, that, while Hyder entered on his career unable to read or write, and remained always a stranger to these primary elements of human knowledge, Tippoo, amid the most active cares of government, retained the habits and character of a man of letters. He read and wrote almost incessantly, carried on an extensive correspondence, and became the historian of his own exploits. Yet the adoption of hasty and superficial theories, in preference to the practical good sense which had guided his predecessor, led him often into crude and rash innovations, which were followed by disastrous consequences. The absolute indifference with which the subject of religion was viewed by Hyder, though marking a degraded state of moral feeling, induced him in his administration to adopt the wise measure of general toleration. His son's mind, on the contrary, was occupied and almost engrossed by his Mussulman zeal, which became the chief source of his crimes and follies. He fancied himself a sort of militant apostle, who was to spread his faith over the world.

Combining this design with his projects of ambition, he waged sacred wars on every side; against the Nazarene English, against the Bramin Mahrattas, and against the Pagan and licentious nayrs. Ultimately, as we have seen, he sunk into the most childish superstition, calling not only upon the Mohammedans, but the persecuted Hindoos, to practise their arts of divination. After the capture of Seringapatam, when his repositories were searched, along with treaties, state-papers, and political correspondence, there was found a record of his dreams and their interpretation, of which Colonel Beatson has preserved some curious specimens. At one time, when he was threatened with an invasion of the Mahrattas, he dreamed that a young man came up and accosted him, who in the course of conversation proved to be a female. Hence he sagely inferred that his enemy, who at first had a manly and formidable appearance, would in battle prove no better than women. On another occasion, when he was about to make war with the native Christians, he was favoured with the vision of a cow and a calf, the former resembling a tiger in aspect and fierceness; it had a slight motion in its fore-legs, but no hind-legs. He resolved to kill this cow, but awoke before he could accomplish his purpose. Hence, however, he thought himself entitled to infer, that he would kill the Christians as he had proposed to kill the cow; that the slight movement of the fore-legs indicated faint attempts at resistance, while the absence of the hinder-legs proved that they would have no alliances to support them. These lucubrations form a strange contrast to his display of talent on other occasions; nor can it be wondered that public measures resting upon such conclusions should not always have proved very prosperous.

This prince, owing to his long wars with the English, his cruel treatment of the captives, and the imbittered enmity which he manifested, was regarded by them almost as a monster in human shape. Yet when their armies penetrated into the interior of his kingdom, they found it flourishing, highly cultivated, and seemingly

well governed. His people always showed a strong attachment to him, and the inhabitants of the ceded districts were ever ready to embrace his cause. But to the conquered nations he was at all times a cruel master, and rendered himself the object of their inextinguishable hatred; a cause to which his downfal may, in a great measure, be attributed. It has been said, with the general approbation of British authors, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one;" yet it may be observed, that he maintained a complete ascendency over all the native states, some of which had matched, and even overmatched, his father. He fell beneath the English power, employed on a scale, and wielded with an ability, of which, in the course of Indian history, there had been no example.

Mysore, having been thus completely conquered, was placed, as to its future arrangements, entirely at the disposal of the British government. The Mahrattas had taken no share in the expedition, and the nizam knew that he must content himself with whatever the victors might choose to give. The governor-general took for the Company, in full sovereignty, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbetoor, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam itself, the capital and main channel of intercourse. He thus secured the whole sea-coast, and an easy communication across the peninsula. To the nizam was assigned a large tract of territory adjoining to his dominions. Another portion was reserved for the purpose of being offered to the Mahrattas, on conditions which, however, as will be hereafter seen, they did not choose to accept. There remained yet an extensive district in the interior of Mysore, which Marquis Wellesley judged most expedient not to partition, but to form it into a native kingdom under the protection and control of Britain. The question then arose, as to the prince in whom the supreme dignity was to be vested. The governor-general would not have been disinclined to bestow it on one of the family of Tippoo; but he justly considered, that the recollection of the

recent greatness of their house must have rendered them always hostile to the power by whom its downfal had been achieved. It appeared, therefore, more advisable, after making a liberal provision for these princes, to draw forth from their deep humiliation the ancient race of rajahs, to whom the people were still fondly attached. The representative of this house, a minor of five years old, and his mother, were found in great poverty and neglect; from which, amid the applauses of their countrymen, they were raised to the splendour and to some share of the power of Asiatic royalty.

CHAPTER III.

Mahratta War, and Conquest of Central Hindostan.

Great Power of the Mahrattas—Shao succeeds as Rajah—Able Administration of Ballajee Wishwanath—Bajee Rao succeeds—Rise of Holkar and Scindia—Great Power of the Peishwa—Reduction of the Pirate Angria—Madoo Rao becomes Peishwa—His able Government—Ragoba—He is expelled by the Ministers—Forms an Alliance with the Government of Bombay—Keating's Expedition—Proceedings at Bombay disallowed—Treaty—War renewed—March against Poonah—Shameful Capitulation—Campaign of General Goddard—Exploits of Popham and Camac—Mahrattas allied with Britain—Increased Power of Mahadajee Scindia—His Death—Death of Madoo Rao—Various Intrigues—Jealousies of Britain—Dissensions of Scindia and Holkar—Defeat of Scindia and the Peishwa—Subsidiary Alliance with Britain—Opening of the Campaign—General Wellesley enters Poonah—Negotiations with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar—Hostilities commenced—Battle of Assaye—Of Argaom—Siege of Gawilghur—Treaty with the Rajah of Berar—Force of the Enemy in Central Hindostan—Battle of Coel—Capture of Alighur—Reduction of Delhi—The Mogul Emperor—Final Defeat of the Enemy—Treaty with Scindia—Rupture with Holkar—Retreat of Colonel Monson—Siege of Delhi—Defeats sustained by Holkar—Siege of Bhurtpore—Repulse of the English—Treaty—Hostile Conduct of Scindia—New System of Policy in Britain—Marquis Cornwallis comes out as Governor-General—Dies, and is succeeded by Sir George Barlow—Treaties with Scindia and Holkar—Lord Minto's Administration.

In prosecuting, without interruption, the train of British conquest in Southern India, we have lost sight of the Mahrattas, except in reference to their relations with the government of Mysore. The reader, however, will recollect the steps by which that people raised themselves on

the decline of the Mogul empire, and became the most powerful instrument in its overthrow. They would even have occupied its place, had they not encountered the more regular and formidable armies of the Afghans, from whom they sustained two such mighty defeats as would have annihilated any force which did not possess in itself a strong principle of vitality. But they soon recruited their strength out of the warlike and roving population of their mountain-districts; and as the Afghans did not attempt a permanent establishment in the Indian peninsula, the Mahrattas acquired again a decided preponderance among the native states. Only Mysore, in the height of its greatness, for a short time disputed their supremacy; but when that throne was first shaken, and then subverted, the foreign power by which this triumph had been achieved became the only rival to them; and the question soon arose, which of the two was to rule Hindostan. Before coming to the decisive struggle, however, some internal movements of this government, and some previous transactions with the English presidencies, seem to demand our notice.

Sevajee had exercised a power nearly absolute over his rude followers, and the reverence cherished for his name enabled him to transmit the Mahratta sceptre to his posterity. But the princes born to his throne did not possess the active and daring hardihood necessary for treading in the steps of such a progenitor. Indulging in ease and voluptuousness, they gradually intrusted the arduous concerns of government and war to their ministers and generals. Then followed a consequence almost inevitable in oriental dynasties: the minister, or still more the general, in whose hands the actual administration was lodged, and who had the disposal of all favours and offices, soon became the real depositary of power, whom the sovereign would have sought in vain to displace, being in fact his master and that of the kingdom. Yet a certain veneration attached to the original race, and the recollections connected with the his-

tory of its founder would have made it unsafe actually to depose the legitimate rajah. It was much easier as well as safer to maintain him in ease and luxury, as a splendid pageant, while all the real authority was exercised in his name by the individual who presided in the council or army.

This consummation, which always took place in the course of two or three generations, was, in the case now before us, precipitated by a remarkable accident. At the capture of Rayree, in 1690, by the troops of Aurengzebe, the grandson of Sevajee and his mother, having fallen into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to the Mogul country, where Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, took an interest in the young captive, and obtained permission to educate him under her own eye. His majesty, when visiting the princess, contracted a great fondness for the youth, whom, instead of his proper name of Sevajee, he used to address by that of Shao, which alluded, in an ironical manner, to the thievish vocation of his ancestors. He married him successively to the daughters of two considerable chiefs of his own nation, and celebrated his nuptials by rich presents, among which was the sword of his father, taken in his capital, and distinguished in the East under the name of Bhowanee.

After the death of Aurengzebe, Shao remained with that emperor's son, Azim, who, wishing to excite divisions in the Mahratta nation, then carrying on a furious predatory warfare against the Moguls, sent home the young prince. During his absence the regency had been held by his cousin, Rajah Rama, and afterwards by the widow of that officer, Tara Bye, who felt exceedingly inclined to continue in the exercise of her high functions; but the people retained such an attachment to the direct line of Sevajee, that she was obliged to give way, and Shao, in March 1708, was seated on the throne of his ancestors. During a long reign he displayed some ability, and did not absolutely sink from his place as a sovereign; yet the debilitating influence of oriental

habits was heightened in his case by his education in the Mogul seraglio. He soon discovered a lively taste for pleasure, and a disposition to devolve on others the burdensome cares of government; but fortunately for himself, or at least for the greatness of the state, he placed his chief confidence in Ballajee Wishwanath. This future head of the Mahratta confederacy occupied originally an inferior situation in the revenue; and at his first rise had so little of the adventurous character of his tribe, that he could not sit upon horseback without a man on each side to support him. His consummate talents and address, however, soon raised him to high consideration with Shao, whose object was rather to re-establish order, and cement his power by a conciliatory system, than to lead his countrymen in their predatory campaigns. By a very able negotiation, this minister extricated his master from a quarrel with Angria, and induced that powerful chief to own his supremacy. Shao was so highly pleased with him on this occasion, that he raised him to the dignity of *peishwa*, usually translated general; but which, embracing as it did all the branches of administration, seems to have had more analogy to the office of vizier in the Ottoman empire. Ballajee soon engrossed the whole power, and ruled successfully, but rather as a legislator than a warrior. He contrived, by ties of common interest, to unite together the somewhat discordant elements of which the Mahratta confederacy was composed, and to fit them for those united efforts that afterwards rendered them so formidable. He introduced order into the finances, encouraged agriculture, and brought all the branches of the administration into a regular system.

After a brief government of six years, which, however, was found sufficiently long to effect these important objects, Ballajee died in October 1720, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, Bajee Rao or Row, had been trained under his own eye both to business and arms, and had proved himself in the former equal, in the latter superior, to his parent and preceptor. He urged his

master to much bolder schemes of ambition than had occupied the views of Wishwanath; drawing his attention to the Mogul empire, in which all the Indian ideas of greatness were centred, reduced now to such a state of weakness and disunion, that it must present an easy prey to the first bold assailant. Shao, though not personally a soldier, was dazzled by these prospects of dominion, and gave his entire sanction to the designs of his minister. The peishwa, however, disturbed by domestic rivalry, and involved in a contest with the nizam, or Subahdar of the Deccan, could not for some years follow out his scheme of aggrandizement: And when at length he assembled his forces, and began his march to the main seat of Mogul power, he was seized with a sudden illness, and died on the banks of the Nerbudda in 1740, after holding office nineteen years. Under him two chiefs, Holkar and Scindia, who, with their posterity, were destined to dispute the sovereignty of Hindostan, rose from very low stations into considerable importance. The former, who sprang from the class of Sudra or labourers, had, by his military talents and spirit, collected a small party of horse, with which he attached himself to the army of the peishwa. Scindia, though claiming descent from a family of the high-born tribe of Rajpoots, belonged to a decayed and illegitimate branch, which had sunk so low that he began his career by carrying the general's slippers; yet, by the diligence and dexterity with which he executed this menial function, he attracted the notice of that commander, and laid the foundation of his own greatness. These two chiefs, having distinguished themselves by several daring exploits, rose gradually, till at length they were intrusted with separate commands; and favoured by the general propensity of the Hindoos to obey only their immediate superiors, they subsequently acquired an independent political power.

The office of peishwa was now nearly established as hereditary, and the eldest son of Bajee Rao, who prefixed to his father's name that of Balajee, after some

opposition from Raghojee Bhonslay, another aspirant, succeeded to that high station. The disputes with this last chieftain, however, and other occurrences, suspended the design of subverting the imperial throne. The ordinary exaction of chout, or a fourth of the tribute, was stipulated to be paid by the Mogul, while Raghojee made the most desolating inroads into Bengal. In 1749 Shao died, when the dignity of rajah, which had been in some degree maintained by his personal character as well as his descent from Sevajee, sank into total insignificance. Ballajee even intended to suppress it altogether, especially as there was some doubt as to the legitimacy of the young prince nominated to the succession; but after some consideration he determined to preserve, though with reduced state and expense, this shadow of royalty. His measures were strenuously opposed by Suckwar Bye, the favourite wife of the late rajah; but that lady, among other manœuvres, had rashly announced an intention to devote herself to the flames on the death of her husband. The peishwa contrived, even while apparently dissuading her from fulfilling this design, to bring it before her family and the public in such a manner as made it impossible for her, according to Indian ideas, to avoid this dreadful sacrifice. Having gained over Raghojee Bhonslay, and transferred the seat of government from Satara to Poonah, the peishwa became the sole and undisputed head of the Mahratta confederation. For several years he was involved in foreign connexions, the wars and politics of the Deccan and Carnatic, and the reduction of the piratical power of Angria. The last of these objects gave rise to certain achievements of a memorable description, in which the English bore the most conspicuous part.

The coast of the Concan, between Bombay and Goa, which belongs to the Mahratta territory, has always been the seat of tribes who exercised in piratical expeditions those predatory habits which elsewhere impelled them to inroads by land. In the middle of the seventeenth century, during the first rise of the Mahrattas,

and while they were carrying on a maritime war with the Mogul, one of their officers, Conajee Angria, conceived the design of founding an independent kingdom. He was greatly aided in his project by the barrier of precipitous rocks, which on this coast rise out of the sea, like the hill-forts from the Indian plain. On the two insulated cliffs of Gheria and Severndroog reigned this chief and his successors of the same name, where they became more and more formidable, till at length they felt themselves able to cope with the greatest European powers, and even aspired to the dominion of the adjacent seas. They made many valuable captures from different nations, who, through dread of their ravages, could not proceed along the shore without a convoy. In February 1754, a Dutch squadron of three ships, carrying 50, 36, and 18 guns respectively, was attacked, and the whole either burned or taken. The British then considered themselves called upon to take vigorous steps for putting down this growing and dangerous power; and the Mahrattas willingly afforded their co-operation. In March 1755, Commodore James sailed with a squadron against Severndroog, where Angria's ships were stationed; but these last, on the approach of the enemy, slipped their cables and ran out to sea. They were of light construction, and the crews, by fastening to flagstaves their robes, quilts, and even turbans, caught every breath of wind, and completely outsailed the English. The commodore then steered for the place itself, which was found to consist of several forts on the island and opposite coast, the works of which were either cut out of the solid rock, or strongly framed of blocks ten or twelve feet square. By throwing in bombs, however, which blew up a large magazine, and caused a general conflagration in the principal stronghold, he spread such an alarm, that the inhabitants and garrison successively evacuated the different posts. Rear-Admiral Watson having arrived with a much larger fleet, proceeded to the attack of Gheria, the capital, which Colonel Clive undertook to blockade on the land side. On the 11th

February 1756, the several ships took their positions, and next day opened so tremendous a fire that the batteries were soon silenced. On the 13th the enemy delivered up the town, solely, as it appeared, through terror at this overwhelming discharge of artillery; for the fortifications were of such strength, that no weight of metal could ever have effected a breach. The treasure, vessels, guns, and every thing constituting the strength of this piratical state, fell into the hands of the victorious squadron.

The influence of the Mahratta confederation continued constantly to increase. Scindia and Holkar, on the invitation of the Nabob of Oude, had crossed the Jumna, and invaded the Rohilla territory, which they soon overran, but were obliged to retire on the approach of the Afghan monarch. But it was not till 1760 and 1761 that several grand expeditions were undertaken, which promised at first to make them masters of the Mogul throne, and extend their dominion over the whole of India. Having, however, provoked the resentment of Ahmed Abdalla, they experienced those signal overthrows, particularly in the battle of Panniput, which we have already noticed in tracing the fall of that empire. The tidings of that fatal day filled all Maharashtra with mourning; and the disaster pressed with peculiar weight on Ballajee Rao, who, having suffered for some time under declining health, now sunk under a load of grief, and died in June 1761.

As the office of peishwa had become quite hereditary, Madoo Rao, son of the deceased minister, was immediately elevated to that distinguished rank, under the regency of his uncle, Ragonaut Rao. This chief, afterwards well known to the English under the familiar name of Ragoba, had already acquired considerable military reputation. Four years, however, had not elapsed, when his young nephew showed a power and decision of character, which fitted him for executing in person the duties of his exalted station. In 1764 and 1765 he undertook his celebrated expedition against Hyder, the triumphant issue of which displayed at once his own

abilities, and the almost inexhaustible resources of his military system. He carried on also, chiefly through the agency of his general Trimbuck Mama, the other enterprise against the same ruler, which is mentioned in the history of Mysore. Finally, towards the close of his reign, the peishwa again undertook to establish his supremacy in the very centre of the imperial dominions. A great army under Scindia overran Rohilcund, and Shah Allum, who inherited the mighty name of Great Mogul, having exchanged the protection of the English for the aid of the Mahrattas, enabled the latter people to seize all that was left of the power which had so long been held supreme over India.

The young ruler made considerable improvements in the different branches of the state, especially in the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. He could not extirpate the corruption so deeply rooted in all Indian governments; but he studiously afforded protection to agriculture, which, allowing for the inferior fertility of the country, was then more flourishing in Maharashtra than in any other part of Hindostan. The revenue drawn from the people is estimated by Mr Grant Duff at ten millions sterling, though little more than seven is understood to have entered the treasury. The army consisted of 50,000 good cavalry, while the contingents of Scindia, Holkar, and other feudatory chiefs, raised it to about 100,000. They were followed to the field by crowds of irregular infantry, who were little better than camp-followers, and by bands of Pindaree horse, fit only for plunder, but very eminently skilled in that vocation.

Madoo Rao died in 1772 without issue, and was succeeded by his next brother, Narrain Rao, a youth not more than seventeen. He was placed in a difficult situation; for the office of peishwa, after having crushed beneath it that of rajah, was itself beginning to lose its influence. His uncle, Ragoba, was not likely to view without jealousy the elevation of so young a rival; while a body of experienced ministers, trained under successive

peishwas to a thorough acquaintance with the affairs of state, were beginning to contend for the supreme direction. In these circumstances, a temporary and apparent calm was followed by a dreadful commotion. On the morning of the 30th August 1773, Narrain Rao, having observed some unusual agitation among the troops, desired one of the ministers to be on the alert; but the warning was neglected. The unfortunate prince had gone in the afternoon to repose in a private chamber, when a band of soldiers burst by an obscure entrance into the palace. They at first pretended that they came to demand arrears of pay, about which they had for some time been clamouring; but it soon appeared that they were impelled by a much darker purpose. Narrain, roused from slumber, ran into his uncle's apartments, and threw himself into his arms, entreating that he would save him. The latter at first appeared to interpose in favour of his relative; but Somer Sing, the ringleader, said,—"I have not gone thus far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him." He then extricated himself from the grasp of the youth, whom, as well as a faithful servant that had also clung round his neck, the conspirators instantly despatched with their swords.

All eyes were turned to Ragoba, as the person by whom this crime must have been suggested. For some time no proof could be obtained, till Ram Sastree, one of the most respectable and upright of the ministers, having collected various evidences, brought the charge so home to him, that he at length confessed he had signed the order to seize the person of his nephew, but denied having in any degree sanctioned his death. A numerous body of Indian politicians still believe that such was the truth, and that a more criminal hand made an alteration in the writing, of which traces were asserted to be visible. In these cases, however, the strong feelings of the public always adopt the darker belief; yet Ragoba mounted without opposition the throne to which he had thus cleared the way, and soon after departed on an expedi-

tion against Hyder, who was in the field attempting to regain some of the territory lost in the former war. But during his absence on this occasion, the ministers, partly sharing the indignation of the public,—partly seeing the opportunity of drawing into their own hands the supreme authority,—entered into a combination for raising to the office of peishwa the unborn son of Gunga Bye, widow of the late peishwa, who had been left in a state of pregnancy. The lady was conveyed to the fortress of Poorundur, accompanied, it is alleged, by a number of Bramins' wives in the same condition, that in the event of the issue proving a female, a male child might be immediately substituted. Ragoba, meantime, had been completely successful in his warlike enterprise; but learning the dangers to which he was exposed at home, hastily concluded a peace, and having endeavoured, by extensive concessions, to conciliate the nizam, hastened back towards Poonah. The ministers sent against him Trimbuck Mama, the most martial of their body, who confidently expected to raise his military fame still higher by the defeat of the peishwa; but he was fatally disappointed. That ruler, though with an inferior army, charged in person at the head of a select corps of ten thousand men, and in twenty minutes completely routed the army of Trimbuck, who fell mortally wounded into the hands of his adversary. Had the conqueror proceeded direct upon Poonah, where, on the arrival of the tidings, the utmost confusion and consternation prevailed, he might probably have resumed, almost without opposition, his wonted power and dignity. But, on the contrary, he marched northward towards the Nerbudda, in hopes of being joined by Holkar and Scindia, who had encamped in that quarter. By this step he lost a favourable opportunity; the government of Poonah recovered from its panic, and collected a force of 50,000 men, while by intrigues and high offers they had induced the nizam to break his treaty with their enemy, and to co-operate in their designs. To crown their good fortune, Gunga Bye produced a son, declared, indeed, by the opposite

party to be supposititious, but now believed to have been the genuine offspring of Narrain Rao. At the age of forty days, the infant was formally inaugurated in the office of peishwa.

Ragoba's own army were so disgusted with the course he had followed, that they deserted in great numbers, and, after passing the Nerbudda, he found himself at the head of only 7000 cavalry. At Indore, notwithstanding, he met Scindia and Holkar, from whom he received a cordial reception and liberal promises, and was empowered to recruit his thinned ranks from their territory. He then advanced to the banks of the Tuptee, with the view of completing the negotiation into which he had entered with the English government at Bombay.

It was at this period a very favourite object with the Company to secure their possession of that settlement, by adding to it the port of Bassein, with Salsette and several smaller islands in its vicinity. Permission had been given to maintain an envoy at the court of Poonah, who was instructed to watch every opportunity of obtaining these much-desired cessions; and the Bombay government, on receiving the application from Ragoba for aid to restore him to supreme power, determined to employ it as the means of accomplishing their own purposes. It was contrary, indeed, to the orders and policy of the Directors to interfere in the internal disputes of the native powers; and the support of a usurper and assassin was no very creditable mode of realizing their objects. But these considerations were overlooked; and indeed on this last point their defenders assert that they were very imperfectly informed, and really believed the peishwa innocent of the murder, and the infant illegitimate. Even that prince, however, started when he heard the enormous conditions which his new allies attached to their assistance, particularly the cession of Bassein and Salsette. But seeing that Scindia and Holkar, on whom he placed much dependence, had been gained over by his enemies, he felt the necessity of submitting to every demand of the English, who, in the mean time, had taken

the liberty of possessing themselves of Salsette and its dependencies. In respect to their requisition, indeed, of a large sum of money, he was obliged to profess, what his circumstances rendered exceedingly probable, an absolute inability to furnish it, but deposited jewels to the value of six lacks of rupees, and stipulated the cession of an extent of territory, from which the sum demanded might afterwards be drawn.

With a view to the fulfilment of this treaty, Colonel Keating landed at Cambay with a force which was raised to 2500 men. Having begun his march, he was joined by an army, or rather mob, under Ragoba, amounting to about 20,000, bearing a very martial appearance, though quite incapable of acting with effect in combination with regular troops. The Indian chief was inclined to delay offensive operations; but the English urged the propriety of advancing upon Poonah, as the only course by which the war could be brought to a decisive issue. They proceeded accordingly as far as Arass, where they were attacked by a large Mahratta force composed chiefly of cavalry. The enemy made several desperate charges, and the battle continued long with various and even doubtful fortune, though at length it ended in the complete repulse of the enemy. Keating's loss was, however, so severe, amounting in his small detachment to 222, including eleven officers, that he suspended his intention of advancing at present upon the capital, and awaited at Dubhoy the termination of the rainy season and the arrival of further reinforcements. This partial success, meanwhile, produced an impression favourable to the British and their ally. Several of the late adherents of the ministry espoused their cause,—even the nizam began to waver. The next campaign was therefore expected to open under very promising auspices, when circumstances occurred which gave an entirely new turn to affairs.

The Company, who had hitherto left the three provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, separate and independent, were now induced, by the inconveniences

which had arisen from this arrangement, to establish one central authority. They vested in the governor-general and council of Calcutta a controlling power over the two other presidencies. The latter, however, were not as yet much inclined to acquiesce; and that of Bombay in particular had, in the late transactions, made very little reference to their new superiors. The supreme council, on being apprized of their proceedings, strongly condemned them, as unjust in themselves, and contrary to the policy inculcated by the Company, of avoiding all interference in the internal concerns of Indian states. This step is generally blamed by English politicians, though, as it appears to us, without any good reason; but there does seem room to question the propriety of superseding entirely the Bombay government, and sending Colonel Upton direct from Bengal to conclude a fresh treaty. This had certainly the effect of placing the inferior presidency in a disadvantageous position, and of exposing it to the contempt of the native powers. It has also been observed, that the Hindoo courts interpret every conciliatory step as a sign of weakness, and immediately rise in their demands. Nana Furnavese, a Bramin minister, who had attained an entire ascendency at Poonah, assumed a lofty tone; and indeed, as the English continued to demand the cession of Bassein and Salsette, he complained, not without some cause, that, after having frankly admitted the unwarrantable ground on which their claim to these places rested, they should still wish to retain possession of them. In short, the negotiation took so unfavourable a turn, that Colonel Upton announced to the councils both of Calcutta and Bombay, that in all probability it would be immediately broken off. Suddenly, however, the Mahratta minister, seeing that the British authorities were really determined to renew the war, and consequently had in no degree been actuated by fear, yielded almost every point in dispute. A treaty was concluded in Poorundur, by which they obtained all the places demanded; while a month was fixed as the period within which the army of Ragoba

was to be reduced, and their protection entirely withdrawn from him.

Affairs seemed amicably settled, when the wheel of events brought round another remarkable change. The Court of Directors at home, on being apprized of the arrangement made by the government of Bombay with that chief, were more swayed by its immediate advantages than by their general principles, and sent out a cordial approbation of the measure. Their despatch to this effect arrived immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Poorundur. It was impossible at once to annul so solemn a transaction; but the council at Bombay exulted in an extraordinary degree over the superior presidency, which had so harshly censured their conduct, and became accordingly disposed to find pretexts for placing themselves again in a hostile attitude towards the administration at Poonah. They by no means withdrew entirely their protection from Ragoba; they even derived encouragement from intrigues carried on to re-establish his influence, which, however, were baffled by the profound political skill of Furnavese. The latter received with great favour a Frenchman named St Lubin, who appears to have held out to him the expectation of a strong military force from Europe. It was concluded, on the whole, that Nana had shown a hostile disposition; and Mr Hornby, the governor of Bombay, entered on the minutes a general review of Mahratta affairs, in which he concluded that they were fast verging to a crisis that would compel the English either to take some active and decisive part, or to relinquish for ever the hopes of improving their own condition in the west of India. Mr Hastings, too, though he had concurred in the censure on the Bombay government, now began to think that better terms might have been gained by the treaty of Poorundur. He granted authority to them "to assist in tranquillizing the dissensions of the Mahratta state;" to promote which object he sent Colonel Leslie with a strong detachment to march across the centre of India from Bengal to the western coast.

The authorities at Bombay were not only highly elated by the sanction thus given to their schemes, but even adopted the rash resolution of accomplishing them with their own resources, lest the glory should be shared by the troops under Leslie. In vain did Mr Draper represent to them the importance of delay till their forces should be concentrated. Mr Carnac, who had now the lead in the council, not only carried his point of immediately opening the campaign, but was himself placed at the head of a committee to aid in the direction of military operations. The command, in consequence of the claims of seniority, devolved on Colonel Egerton, whose health was extremely infirm, and who had acquired all his experience, as a soldier, in Germany, so that an Indian war presented a scene altogether new to him. However, a force of 3900 men, of whom only 600 were British, landed at Panwell, and advanced to attack the capital of the Mahratta empire. The march of an army in that country, encumbered with baggage, bullocks, and beasts of burden, is always slow; but the tardiness of this movement was altogether unprecedented. In eleven days they had not proceeded above eight miles. A week more brought them, on the 9th January 1779, to the village of Tullygaom, where they found in front a mass of about 50,000 men, who began to skirmish in their usual desultory manner. They did not, however, venture on a serious attack; but though nothing had occurred which might not have been foreseen with the utmost certainty, Mr Carnac and Colonel Cockburn, who, in consequence of Egerton's sickness, had succeeded to the command, formed the fatal determination, from which nothing could dissuade them, of immediate retreat. Such a step, in the face of a Mahratta host, with clouds of cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. The English troops had scarcely begun to fall back, when their rearguard was assailed by the whole force of the enemy. Fortunately it was commanded by Captain Hartley, a young officer of high and rising reputation, who gallantly withstood several most furious charges; and they were finally un-

able to make a serious impression on any part of the line. The loss, however, was very severe, amounting to upwards of three hundred, among whom were fifteen European officers.

After this action, the military authorities decided that even retreat was no longer practicable, and consequently that there remained no resource but negotiation. This, in such circumstances, was equivalent to offering the enemy a *carte blanche* as to the terms on which the invaders should be allowed to return to Bombay. In vain did Hartley remonstrate against that humiliating step, and point out a course by which the retreat might have been effected; in vain did Carnac advance objections, which, however, he forbore to press; nothing could shake the pusillanimous determination of the commanders. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba, had not that chief made a private agreement to surrender himself to Scindia. The British themselves, by treating with the latter, obtained somewhat more favourable terms: still the convention of Worgaom, if not the most disastrous, was much the most disgraceful event which had marked the annals of our army in India. All the points in dispute were yielded; all the recent acquisitions were to be restored; and orders were sent that the troops now marching from Bengal should proceed no farther.

Both at Bombay and at home the utmost indignation was felt at this convention. Mr Carnac, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, were all three dismissed from the service. Their conduct in the present instance certainly appears quite indefensible, and it is not a little remarkable, that it formed a decided contrast to their characters as displayed on former occasions. Cockburn, in particular, had distinguished himself by exploits of the most daring valour, and was considered one of the best officers in the service; but the qualities which had fitted him for a secondary part, proved insufficient to guide his judgment in this higher and more arduous station. The treaty was immediately annulled, as having been concluded without sufficient authority, and the arrival of Colonel Leslie

with his detachment was alone waited for in order to commence offensive operations. This officer, however, had not made the despatch which was expected. His march being harassed by some of the Rajpoot chiefs, he absurdly allowed himself to be drawn into several petty contests, and in the course of five months had not proceeded above 120 miles. Mr Hastings was obliged to supersede him, and send in his place Colonel Goddard, who, by passing over three hundred miles in twenty days, reached Surat, having avoided the snares formed by the enemy to interrupt his progress.

This commander, who, though acting on a conciliatory system toward the Bombay government, was invested with a jurisdiction nearly independent, began with an attempt to negotiate. This being found impracticable, on account of the lofty tone assumed by the cabinet of Poonah upon its recent success, hostilities were immediately commenced; and the English appeared no longer as auxiliaries to Ragoba, but as principals. On the first of January 1780, Goddard, now a general, crossed the Tuptee, and before the end of the month reduced Dubhoy, and carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of Guzerat. Then, however, he received notice that Scindia and Holkar, with upwards of twenty thousand horse, had passed the Nerbudda, and were advancing against him. The former chief opened a negotiation with the British, for whom he professed a warm attachment. But, as it was soon perceived that he sought only to gain time, Goddard determined if possible to bring him to a general action; and attacking his camp by night, he succeeded in surprising some of his outposts. The day, however, dawned in time to enable the main body to mount their horses and present themselves in order of battle: they even made a movement as if to charge, but being received with a brisk fire, they galloped off and were soon out of sight. The English commander, who imagined he had gained a decisive victory, soon learned with surprise that they had taken a fresh position quite entire, at a little distance. He again endeavoured to

bring them to action; but on his near approach, they merely discharged a flight of rockets, and disappeared as before. Wearied with these fruitless and harassing operations, he at length removed his army, and placed it, during the rains, in cantonments on the Nerbudda.

In the course of the dry season, which commenced in October, the general employed himself in the siege of Bassein, while Colonel Hartley covered his operations, spreading his force over a great part of the Concan, whence he drew both supplies and revenue. This campaign was very successful; Bassein surrendered on the 11th December, while Hartley, taking a judicious position, completely repulsed the whole combined force of the Mahrattas, which attempted to overwhelm him. Thus the English affairs were beginning to assume a prosperous aspect, when Goddard was apprized of an intention on the part of government to open an immediate negotiation. He was directed, therefore, to hold himself in readiness to cease hostilities as soon as intelligence should be received from Poonah of a corresponding disposition. This resolution was connected with certain events of the war in the south of India related in a former chapter. Hyder, having formed an alliance with the nizam and the Mahrattas, had made a terrible irruption into the Carnatic, and was threatening the very existence of the British establishment at Madras. Under these circumstances, it was determined to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order to detach the court of Poonah from this formidable confederacy. The treaty, however, proceeded slowly, especially after tidings had arrived of the catastrophe that had befallen Colonel Baillie's detachment. In these discouraging circumstances General Goddard conceived that an advance with his army beyond the Ghauts, and the placing it in such a position as to menace the Mahratta capital, might produce a favourable effect. Accordingly, with about 6000 men he succeeded in penetrating the barrier of hills. Nana Furnavese, however, still refused to separate from his ally; and the general was so harassed by attacks on

his rear, by having his convoys intercepted, and by seeing the country laid waste around him, that he felt at length the necessity of retreating to Bombay. In this march he was assailed by the enemy with so much fury, that although he reached the coast without dishonour, he sustained a loss more severe than had been incurred in the campaign which terminated in the convention of Worgaom.

Mr Hastings, meantime, attempted to influence the war by military movements from Bengal, directed towards the very heart of India. Captain Popham, with 2400 men, crossed the Jumna, and attacked the fort of Lahar; but finding it much stronger than was expected, and labouring under the want of battering-cannon, he could effect only a very imperfect breach. He determined, however, to storm it; and, though both the officers who led the assault fell, the troops followed with such intrepidity that the place was carried with the loss of 125 men. But the most brilliant exploit was that against Gwalior, a stronghold repeatedly mentioned as being considered in Hindostan Proper the most formidable bulwark of the empire, though it could not rank with the impregnable hill-forts of the south and west. After two months of observation and contrivance, on the 3d August 1780 a party was employed to make a night-assault. They mounted the scarped rock by a regular escalade, then ran up the steep face of the hill, and by ladders of rope ascended the inner wall, thirty feet high, when they found themselves within the place; and though some of the men gave the alarm by firing prematurely, they nevertheless stood their ground. The garrison were panic-struck; and the sun had scarcely risen when the British, with almost no resistance, became masters of this celebrated fortress.

In pursuance of the same system, Mr Hastings sent Colonel Camac to carry the war into the territories of Scindia. He penetrated without difficulty into Malwa; but the Mahratta chief then hastened to oppose the invasion, and by the rapid manœuvres of his numerous cavalry, soon reduced the British to great distress; keep-

ing up an incessant cannonade during the long period of seven days. The colonel, however, by remaining for some time inactive, lulled the suspicions of the enemy, then suddenly burst by night into his camp, and defeated him with great loss. This success, although he was not able to follow it up, raised considerably the reputation of the English, who also succeeded, by a large sum of money, in detaching Moodajee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, from the other Mahratta leaders. Thus, after various transactions, a separate convention was first concluded with Scindia on the 13th October 1781; and finally, on the 7th May following, a general peace was signed at Salbye, on terms as favourable as the chequered events of the war could give room to expect. The limits of the respective territories were fixed nearly on the same footing as by the treaty of Poorundur; and a monthly pension of 25,000 rupees was assigned to Ragoba. Thus closed the first Mahratta war, by which our countrymen, it must be confessed, had earned very little either of glory or advantage.

From this time the relations of that people with our government were for many years those of amity and alliance; a union which was produced by a common dread of the exorbitant power and pretensions of the house of Mysore. We have seen them joined with the British in successive leagues, and affording a tumultuary aid in the contests which brought to an end the power of Tippoo. The history of the confederation, however, was remarkably distinguished by the rise of Scindia to a pre-eminence which made him decidedly superior to all its other leaders. His territory being contiguous to the southern states and to the fragments of the Mogul empire, he added to it successively these different possessions. On the east he subdued Bundelcund; on the west he rendered tributary the warlike princes of Rajpootana; and at length, amid the dissensions of the imperial court, Shah Allum, who still retained the name, revered even in its downfal, of Mogul emperor, placed himself under his protection. In this manner that chief became master

of Agra, Delhi, and the surrounding territories; while he exercised all that now remained of imperial power. He was so elated by these successes, that he ventured upon a demand of chout or tribute from the government of Bengal; a claim which Mr Macpherson, then governor, repelled with the highest indignation, and insisted upon its formal renunciation.

Scindia's elevated position was in other respects precarious and difficult. Labouring under an extreme deficiency of funds, he was obliged to levy exorbitant contributions from the Rajpoot chiefs. That proud race rose in insurrection, and were joined by Mohammed Beg and Gholaum Kawdir, to whom, as well as to the emperor himself, the domination of the Mahratta ruler had become odious. In an invasion of Rajpootana, he was completely defeated, and though the feudal bands of that country, as usual after a victory, dispersed and went to their homes, he was no longer able to resist the power even of the Moslem princes. He was again worsted, and reduced to the greatest extremity, when he entreated, though with little success, that Nana Furnavese would forget all grounds of quarrel and jealousy, and aid him in the general cause of the Mahratta confederation. He was extricated by the savage violence of Gholaum Kawdir himself, who, having obtained possession of Delhi and of the emperor's person, treated him, his family, and adherents, with the most wanton barbarity. With his own hand he used the point of a dagger to put out that prince's eyes; and committed other cruelties which rendered him the object of general horror and disgust. At length his own associate, Ismael Beg (who had succeeded to Mohammed), went over to Scindia, who also at length obtained a reinforcement from Poonah. By this means he was enabled to enter Delhi, and pursue Kawdir, who was taken and put to death; and having thus regained almost the entire plenitude of his dominion, the Mahratta chief sought to strengthen his military power by means not resorted to by any of his predecessors. He enlisted into his army the various warlike races in the north of India,

—the valiant Rajpoot horsemen, the Goseins, a religious sect, whose tenets did not prevent them from taking arms, and even Mohammedan soldiers who had been thrown out of the Mogul service. But the force on which he chiefly relied was a corps of regular infantry, organized and disciplined in the European manner by a French adventurer named De Boigne. This body, at first consisting only of two battalions, had been rapidly augmented, till it amounted to three brigades, each comprising 5600 infantry, 500 cavalry, and forty pieces of cannon. He had besides a separate train of artillery, and was supported by a mass of irregular foot. A considerable territory was assigned for the support of this corps; which included officers of all nations, among whom was a considerable proportion of English.

Having thus rendered himself the most powerful among the Mahratta princes, Scindia's next object was to acquire a preponderance at the court of Poonah. He proceeded thither with the professed purpose of conferring on the peishwa the dignity of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy, which he had caused the Mogul to bestow; a most unwelcome visit, which Nana Furnavese sought in vain to decline. He arrived at length, and was received with every mark of outward respect. The peishwa, amid great state, was invested with this new title, which was considered an addition to the splendour even of his rank; while the gallant warrior, being appointed his perpetual deputy, with the right of nominating a successor, acquired all the real power attached to the function. Besides dazzling the eye of the youthful prince by the pomp of this ceremony, he gained his favour by inviting him to field-sports and other amusements, from which he had been in a considerable degree withheld by the austere maxims of the aged Bramin, his minister. In short, Scindia seemed about to supplant Furnavese as the arbiter of the Mahratta state, when he was seized with a violent illness, which terminated his life on the 12th February 1794.

Mahadajee Scindia, who had been the chief instrument

in raising his house to be the first in Hindostan, was a person of very great activity and address, long experience, and of so much principle as to be supposed incapable of committing any very enormous crime,—a praise which cannot often be bestowed on the great men of India. His death at the present moment, when a danger of the greatest magnitude impended over the state, may probably be considered as the main cause of the ultimate decline of the Mahratta power. Dying without issue, he adopted as his successor, not the nearest heir, but Dowlut Rao, his nephew, the son of his youngest brother; a youth not more than fifteen years of age, who, though possessed of talents and enterprise, was without that knowledge which would have been necessary to guide him through the difficult circumstances in which he was soon placed.

Nana Furnavese, on the death of his rival, seemed again replaced in the supreme direction of affairs; but the very eagerness with which he clung to power soon involved him in a deeper calamity. While he kept Madoo Rao, the peishwa, in very strict tutelage, he held also in close confinement Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, who, on approaching manhood, displayed high accomplishments and engaging manners, which rendered him an object of general interest. This was particularly felt by his cousin Madoo Rao. An epistolary communication was opened, and a romantic friendship formed by these two young men, who stood in a position of such deadly rivalry. In their correspondence they were wont to anticipate the moment when, delivered from their present thraldom, they might form a personal intimacy, and emulate the great actions of their ancestors. This innocent exchange of sentiment, being discovered by Nana, excited his most violent rage. He increased the rigour of Bajee's confinement, and, at the same time, loaded Madoo with the severest reproaches. The high-spirited youth, in a paroxysm of grief and indignation, threw himself from a terrace in the palace, and died in two days. This was a most disastrous event to Furna-

vese; for Bajee, whom he had done so much to make his enemy, was, in fact, the legitimate heir. The minister attempted at first to parry this fatal circumstance, and proposed that the widow of the deceased prince, though she had not reached the age of womanhood, should adopt a son, whom he might establish as peishwa, and in his name conduct the government. He found this measure, however, to be quite repugnant to public feeling; and learning that Scindia had declared in favour of the imprisoned youth, endeavoured to make the best of his situation by employing his influence in raising the latter to the vacant dignity. Bajee Rao, on this intention being announced to him, was so much surprised, that he obliged the messenger to take hold of a cow's tail, and swear by the holy waters of the Godavery that no stratagem was intended. He then repaired to Poonah, and was placed on the musnud. The reconciliation, however, could not be durable. The court from this time became a complete chaos of political intrigue, between the peishwa, who endeavoured to exercise his own authority, and Nana, Scindia, Purseram Bhow, and other chiefs, who sought to administer it in his name. These individuals appear in the confused scene one day united in close alliance, the next plotting one another's destruction. We shall not now follow the thread of these intricate transactions, nor encumber our pages with the uncouth names of humbler individuals who, amid the general confusion, contrived to thrust themselves into notice. Some attempts were even made to employ as an instrument the long-imprisoned rajah, whose title was still dear to the Mahratta people. Nana Furnavese, after passing through various fortunes, and being reduced to the greatest distress, was restored to some share of his former power, but died soon afterwards, leaving the reputation of one of the ablest and most skilful politicians that India had ever produced; and there remained no individual possessed of those comprehensive and statesman-like views, which were soon much wanted to direct the affairs of the confederation.

Even before the death of Furnavese, the court of Poonah had been placed for some time in a critical situation. It was united in a triple alliance with Britain and the nizam, against the power and pretensions of the house of Mysore, and had repeatedly co-operated, though in an irregular and unsatisfactory manner, with the English in their wars with that dynasty. Lord Cornwallis, though he had much reason to complain of the conduct of their army, so far from expressing any anger, granted to them a third, or equal share with the Company and the nizam, of the ceded lands: and Marquis Wellesley afterwards, when he entered upon the last and decisive contest with Tippoo, called upon the Mahratta government to fulfil the stipulations of this alliance. By that time, however, they had begun to cherish a deep and not ill-grounded jealousy respecting the rapid progress of the British power; and although they chose to temporize, their wishes were now completely in favour of Mysore. Nana strongly shared this feeling; nevertheless he decidedly objected to any measure which might commit the state in a war with so formidable a nation. But Scindia and the peishwa, those young and ardent spirits, embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the sultan; a fact which was proved by a correspondence found at Seringapatam, breathing unequivocal hostility, and leaving no doubt, that had fortune favoured the son of Hyder, he would at once have been joined by these chiefs. They were arrested, however, by the intelligence of the fall of that capital, the death of its ruler, and the downfal of his formidable dynasty. Then, indeed, every effort was made to excuse their inactivity as allies, and to explain away every symptom of a hostile intention.

Though the failure on the part of the Mahrattas had been undeniable, Marquis Wellesley declined showing any resentment; he even set apart for them a portion of the sequestered territory. But he determined to avail himself of his present commanding position to establish if possible an effective control over this great and turbulent state. He tendered to them a share in the spoils

of Mysore, coupled with the condition, that the peishwa, on terms similar to those of a treaty just arranged with the nizam, should receive a British subsidiary force, and cede a portion of territory, the clear revenue of which might be sufficient for their maintenance. But this proposal, after some months of delay and evasion, was decidedly rejected. It evidently appeared that his highness would never agree to any such measure, unless under the pressure of an irresistible necessity; and the governor-general, entertaining sanguine hopes that such a crisis might erelong occur, carefully watched his opportunity. He calculated, that the distractions in the Mahratta confederacy, as they must increase, could scarcely fail of compelling that prince to have recourse to British aid; for, though the nominal head of the other chieftains, and himself a man of spirit and ambition, he saw his power every day more and more controlled by the pretensions of those military adventurers. Scindia began to act as the real sovereign of Maharashtra, commanding a force superior to that of his master, whom he evidently intended to treat as a mere state pageant. Holkar, too, having assembled round him a vast predatory army, was not unwilling to measure his strength with any rival, however mighty. Yet these turbulent elements continued for some time to ferment without producing an actual explosion; and hence, more than three years elapsed from the conquest of Mysore, before the expected crisis arrived. Marquis Wellesley was even preparing to return to Europe in January 1803, when the unexpected intelligence induced him to remain. The convulsion which he had long waited for, occurred on a greater scale, and in a form more favourable to his views, than he had ever anticipated.

The rival houses of Scindia and Holkar, after recently emerging from the lowest obscurity, had for some time ranked nearly equal; but after the former had once risen to greatness, his family acquired a very decided preponderance. The power of the Holkars, however, revived under an illegitimate branch, Jeswunt Rao, who

by boldness, enterprise, and a peculiar talent for predatory warfare, soon raised himself, notwithstanding the stain on his birth, to be the head of his house, and the leader of all who fought under its banners. Dissensions soon arose between him and Scindia, whose territory he did not spare in the course of his ravages. After various movements, the two armies engaged near Indore, Holkar's capital, when that chief was completely routed, with the loss of ninety-eight pieces of cannon; and his power was supposed to be so completely crushed, that the other very imprudently neglected any farther pursuit. No force is so easily or so rapidly recruited as that of the Mahrattas. The vanquished leader, having undertaken some inroads into the surrounding territories, soon rallied round him all the bold youths who delighted in plunder and adventure: large bands even from the ranks of his adversary, tired of an inactive life, flocked to his camp. In short, he soon found himself in a condition to march upon Poonah. Scindia and the peishwa united their forces to oppose him; and there ensued in the vicinity of that city one of the most obstinate battles recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Holkar fought with the utmost desperation, and led his men to successive charges with such fury, that the enemy were completely broken, and fled in every direction. Colonel Close, the British resident, while the engagement lasted, hoisted his flag, which was respected by both parties; and next day he was asked to visit the victorious general. He found him in his tent, ankle-deep in mud, wounded both with a spear and a sabre. He received the colonel with the utmost politeness, professed a cordial attachment to the English, and expressed a wish that they would assist in adjusting his differences with Scindia and the peishwa.

The latter prince, however, had already entered into engagements with the British. On the first approach of the crisis which had now overwhelmed him, he began to make overtures for a subsidiary force, though on the narrowest possible conditions. It was not even to enter the country, but to be posted on the frontier, ready to

advance when circumstances might call for its services. His object evidently was, not to incur the odium and danger of introducing these powerful foreigners into his dominions, but by the mere dread of their approach to overawe the contending chiefs, and restore his own supremacy. The marquis was not, however, unwilling to close the arrangement, even under this jealous restriction; but the treaty for the maintenance of the corps was attended with great difficulties. An ample extent of territory was indeed offered, but being situated in Hindostan Proper, where the peishwa had a mere nominal authority, it was really occupied by Scindia and Holkar, from whom it must be wrested by force of arms. The assignment was required of a tract of country over which the English could hold command; even money would be accepted, notwithstanding the uncertainties of obtaining payment. Thus the negotiation was spun out till the very day before the battle, when the prince, foreseeing that whoever prevailed he would be reduced to a state of vassalage, signed the compact. After Holkar's signal victory, he determined to throw himself entirely into the arms of the British. This intention he intimated from Singurh, to which he had fled, and was then invited to repair to the coast, where the arrangements could be conducted with security. Having repaired to Severndroog, he embarked for Bassein, where he was met by Colonel Close; and at that place, on the 31st December 1802, was signed the celebrated treaty by which the alliance was settled on a more extended basis. The Company not only engaged to furnish 6000 men, for the support of whom was assigned a territory yielding twenty-six lacks of rupees; they engaged, moreover, to bring forward all the force they could command, and which might be necessary to re-establish the peishwa in his full rights as head of the Mahratta confederacy.

In entering on the greatest war which England ever waged in India, and which was destined completely to establish her supremacy over that region, it is impossible to refrain from some inquiry respecting the necessity and

the wisdom of this eventful measure. Mr Mill, in a very masterly discussion upon this subject, argues, that the war arose out of the treaty of Bassein, which was manifestly the spontaneous act of the governor-general; and that the Mahratta chiefs, engrossed by their own contests for power, had no immediate intention or wish to involve themselves in hostility with the British government. The object of each was to obtain possession of the peishwa's person, and to exercise in his name a general control over the whole state. But an arrangement which altogether withdrew that ruler from the control of all of them, and transferred to a foreign power the whole weight of his name and resources, besides humbling their national pride, presented a common obstacle to the ambitious views of each chief, and was therefore to all an object of equal resentment. He goes on to maintain that the Company might have safely looked on, and seen the different leaders waste themselves in internal conflicts, while courted by each they might have secured advantages to themselves, and held the balance between them. This part of the question, however, depends upon circumstances that are extremely complicated; and the arguments urged on the other side appear to be at least equally plausible.

It has never been denied, that a power which sees its neighbours engaged in war may be justified in interfering, either from generosity to defend the oppressed, or from policy, lest any one state, by conquering the others, should attain a dangerous ascendency. But the conflicts of the Mahratta chiefs now bore much less the character of internal disturbance, than of regular war between independent princes. The common national tie served little more than to inspire the design and hope of a general dominion,—the object which, it is clear, had kindled the ambition of the several aspirants. There was therefore, perhaps, a strong probability that erelong some one of these leaders would gain the supremacy, and wield the entire resources of the Mahratta power. It seems impossible to deny that in such a case an able warrior

might have become very formidable to Britain, both by the great extent of territory which he would have commanded, and by the success which might have been expected from disciplining his troops after the European manner. He would also have enjoyed the prospect of being aided by the French, while the English would have had to dread the doubtful faith of the nizam and other native princes whom they held in vassalage.

The Marquis Wellesley, from his confidential correspondence recently published, evidently cherished sanguine hopes that the mere influence of this treaty, without any actual appeal to arms, would have re-established tranquillity and a due balance of power in the Mahratta state. Scindia, it was hoped, after so overwhelming a blow, would have been happy to co-operate with him and the peishwa, under the offered pledge of regaining all he had lost, and having its preservation guaranteed to him. Holkar's resources were considered too unsolid and ephemeral to make any stand against these three united powers. The only doubt respected Raghojee Bhonslay, who had become Rajah of Berar, and whose ancestor, as formerly mentioned, had even laid claim to the rank of peishwa. He had, however, been observed to attach himself so very decidedly to the successful party, that there appeared little chance of his espousing a cause so desperate as that of Holkar. In fact, had these chiefs been guided by sound views of policy, they would have at least temporized till Scindia had recruited his shattered forces, and till his rival, who had retired beyond the Godavery, and seemed disinclined to take any decisive step, could be induced to join the confederacy.

These hopes, though resting on plausible grounds, were not fulfilled. Scindia and Raghojee felt such a hatred and dread of British power, as not only suspended the strongest feelings of enmity between themselves, but impelled them to make precipitate efforts against a treaty which appeared to render the Company supreme over Maharashtra. Yet the former, who, after his defeat, had retired to Burhanpoor, where he had reas-

sembled a considerable force, did not at first declare himself. Being invited to accede to the treaty of Bassein and to share its advantages, he expressed an intention to comply, only wishing previously to correspond with and obtain some explanations from the peishwa. Afterwards he declined acceding, but declared he would do nothing to obstruct its execution. Alarm was naturally excited by his continuing posted at Burhanpoor, which could apparently have no other object but that of regaining his ascendency at Poonah; wherefore Collins, stationed as resident in his camp, again pressed upon him the acceptance of the treaty, though intimating that his refusal would not be considered as a ground of offence. In that case, however, it was expected he would prove the absence of any hostile intention, by immediately recrossing the Nerbudda, to the north of which his own dominions lay. He made friendly professions, but urged that his present position was necessary to watch and keep in check the movements of Holkar. The marquis afterwards intimated to the resident, that if this should appear to be the case, he would accept any other unequivocal proof of pacific dispositions; and he continued long to cherish the hope, that this warrior would not venture any opposition without the concurrence of Holkar and the Rajah of Berar. He wrote both to him and the rajah, assuring them of being left secure and unmolested in the possession of their dominions; at the same time, in allusion to certain unfavourable reports, he warned them, that all attempts on the part of any state or power to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein, would place them in a state of hostility with Britain. The rajah replied, disclaiming any hostile views; though a letter was at the same time communicated, which he had written to a chief, Azim-ul-Omrah, expressing his desire to meet Scindia, and concert measures with him for opposing the fulfilment of the said treaty. Although this intention was denied, and amicable professions continued, yet the movements both of Scindia's army and that of Berar entirely corresponded to it. The governor-general there-

fore determined to place all his armies in such positions as might enable them to act with the utmost vigour, the moment it should be determined to strike the blow. General Wellesley from Mysore, Colonel Stevenson from the nizam's capital of Hydrabad, and some regiments under Colonel Murray from Bombay, had been ordered to advance upon Poonah, and after re-establishing the peishwa, to be ready if necessary to act against the turbulent Mahratta chiefs. Lord Lake, stationed with a large force at Cawnpore, on the Bengal frontier, had instructions, immediately on learning the commencement of hostilities, to advance. His objects were to conquer Scindia's territories in Hindostan Proper, capture the Mogul capitals of Delhi and Agra, obtain possession of the emperor's person, and open a friendly communication with the Rajpoot chiefs. At the same time, detachments were to be sent against Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, and from Bombay against Baroach and the neighbouring coast of Guzerat. The success of these last expeditions would render the Company masters of the whole circuit of the Indian coast, and cut off all connexion between their European and native enemies.

On the 9th of March 1803, Major-general Wellesley marched from his position at Hurryhur, and on the 12th entered the Mahratta territory. Colonel Stevenson, at the same time, broke up from Hydrabad with the subsidiary force of about 8000 men, and 16,000 troops furnished by the nizam. On the 15th April the two divisions united at Aklooss, about 70 miles south-east of Poonah. Holkar, on hearing of the approach of the English, determined not to involve himself in hostile proceedings, but early in April retreated to Chandore, a place 130 miles to the northward of Poonah,—leaving Amrut Rao, whom he had invested with the dignity of peishwa, with only a small detachment in that capital. Sir Arthur then judged it unnecessary to lead his whole army to a place where it could not without much difficulty procure subsistence; but being informed by Colonel Close that

there was reason to apprehend Amrut Rao would set fire to the capital, where part of the family of the peishwa still resided, he formed a select corps of cavalry, and advanced with such speed, that in thirty-two hours, on the 20th April, he reached Poonah, which Amrut had hastily quitted without attempting any violence. The English power being thus established in the Mahratta metropolis, the sovereign was escorted from Bombay by the detachment under Colonel Murray, and resumed his seat on the musnud amid the congratulations of the British and native armies.

General Wellesley now paused till he could ascertain the disposition of the other Mahratta chiefs. Though great difficulty was found in procuring supplies and the means of transport, no aid was derived from the peishwa, who was either unable, or, as was strongly suspected, disinclined to command the exertions of his subjects for this object. However, by his own activity and the assistance forwarded from Bombay, the English leader was at length enabled to put his troops in marching condition.

As the conduct of the native rulers became daily more suspicious, the governor-general, to avoid the delays of communicating with Calcutta, invested his brother on the 26th June, not only with the supreme military command in the Mahratta territories, but with the decision of the question of peace or war. In the first capacity, indeed, he was still inferior to Lord Lake and General Stuart; but the former was on an entirely different line of operations, and the latter, it was understood, would not interfere. Sir Arthur hereupon instructed Colonel Collins urgently to demand from Scindia an explanation of his present menacing attitude, and to solicit his retirement into the interior of his own dominions. That chief gave the most positive assurances of a pacific disposition, and even of an intention to acquiesce in the treaty of Bassein; but as, in conjunction with the Rajah of Berar, he still maintained his menacing posture, and was understood to be issuing orders to his officers to hold themselves in readiness to act on the shortest notice, it

was judged farther necessary to require that he and the rajah should withdraw their troops to their ordinary stations in the centre of their respective territories, while a corresponding movement should be made on the part of the British army. To this demand, Scindia replied, that he expected in a few days to have an interview with the Rajah of Berar, when the resident would be informed "whether it should be peace or war." This ambiguous expression, so strongly indicative of the latter alternative, induced the general to advance to Walkee, a strong post near Ahmednugger, whence he could with advantage commence military operations.

On the 3d June, the rajah arrived, and had a meeting with Scindia, though the principal conference did not take place till the 8th; and when the resident, on the 12th, demanded to know the result, he was met only by delays and subterfuges. The two princes acknowledged themselves to be in some respects dissatisfied with the treaty of Bassein, but declared that their troops were in their own territory, without any hostile intention. They admitted, however, that they were intending to march towards the nizam's dominions; and from this and other circumstances, the general formed the decided opinion that they were determined upon war, and were only desirous of waiting till their preparations should be completed, and the negotiation which they had opened with Holkar brought to a conclusion. Every delay, in fact, was in their favour. Colonel Collins was therefore instructed to demand, in a peremptory manner, that the Rajah of Berar should immediately retire to his capital of Nagpoor, and Scindia beyond the Nerbudda, provided the state of the rivers permitted; if not, at least to Burhanpoor. These remonstrances, seconded by a letter from General Wellesley, procured for the colonel an audience on the 25th July; though he obtained nothing beyond shifts and excuses till the 31st, when he threatened an immediate departure. He was then invited to the rajah's tent, and a proposal was made that the allies should retire to Burhanpoor, fifty-eight miles in their rear, pro-

vided the English commander would withdraw his troops to their usual stations at Madras and Bombay. This arrangement, which would have left the Mahratta territory entirely at the disposal of the confederates, was at once rejected; and they at length offered to march back to their respective capitals, provided the British army should commence a retrograde movement on the very same day. This proposition was judged worthy of being transmitted to the general. The letter, however, purporting to convey it, on being delivered, was found to contain no such offer, but merely the first and rejected proposition. The resident, then concluding that the sole object of the allies was to gain time, at once quitted the camp, and the war immediately commenced.

Sir A. Wellesley was at the head of 7000 infantry, 1900 cavalry, with 5400 native horse, independently of the corps of Colonel Stevenson, which covered the nizam's frontier. He now with characteristic promptitude marched upon Ahmednugger, and on the 8th August 1803 summoned that fortress, which was considered one of the bulwarks of the Deccan. On the first day the town was stormed, and on the 10th a battery was opened against the fort, which on the 12th was evacuated by the garrison. He then proceeded to the city of Aurungabad. Meantime, however, the confederates with their numerous cavalry had passed Colonel Stevenson, and appeared resolved to cross the Godavery and make a rapid march against Hydrabad, the capital of the nizam. The British general, however, by a judicious movement, obliged them to return northwards; but as the flying warfare, which they seemed inclined to pursue would have been exceedingly harassing, he resolved to bring them, almost on any terms, to close combat. With this view, the two English corps marched separately, though at a short distance, along the two roads by which the enemy was expected to pass.

The general had arranged that Stevenson and himself should unite on the 24th September, and in concert attack the enemy; but as it was reported that their cavalry had

begun to move, he pushed forward to reconnoitre, or to prevent their manœuvre. His information, which in that hostile country was extremely imperfect, led him to suppose that they were posted at Bokerdun, twelve or fourteen miles distant; but after marching six miles, he discovered their whole force, consisting of 38,000 cavalry, above 18,000 infantry, and about 100 pieces of artillery, drawn up on the plain of Assaye. He could not now retreat without being pursued under a great disadvantage by their immensely superior body of horse, and without greatly dispiriting his followers. He determined, therefore, notwithstanding the vast disparity in the number of his troops, to lead them directly on to the attack. Far from being struck with any apprehension, they exultingly exclaimed, "They cannot escape us!" As they advanced, however, the enemy's artillery, the best organized part of their army, opened a most destructive fire, which greatly thinned their ranks. The general, being informed by one of the officers in command that his guns could not be got forward, owing to the number of men and bullocks that were disabled, said, "Well, tell him to get on without them." The British infantry continued to move forward in the face of this tremendous fire with a steady pace, and bore down all opposition. The Mahratta cavalry, meanwhile, on seeing the opposite ranks so much reduced, made a desperate attempt to break them; when they were encountered by a most gallant charge of the English horse, which soon compelled them to join their foot in a rapid retreat. The victory seemed complete, when it was for a moment rendered doubtful owing to a very unexpected incident. By a stratagem not unexampled in the East, a considerable number of Indians had thrown themselves on the ground, and been passed as dead by the advancing troops; they now started up, seized some of the captured guns, and commenced a brisk fire from behind, under favour of which a few of the fleeing squadrons rallied. Sir Arthur Wellesley, however, with his usual presence of mind, detached several corps, by whom this alarming resurrection was soon put down;

and the whole Indian host was forthwith involved in one promiscuous flight, leaving on the field twelve hundred dead, with ninety-eight pieces of artillery. The loss of the conquerors was very severe, amounting to 409 killed and 1622 wounded. Much of this was occasioned by the mistake of an officer who led his corps direct against the formidable battery at the village of Assaye, instead of attacking another quarter, which being carried would have caused that post to fall of itself. Scindia's infantry fought better than Tippoo's, and his ordnance was so superior that it could be used by the British, while that taken in Mysore was found quite worthless.

Such was the battle of Assaye, which established the fame of the greatest commander of the age, and fixed the dominion of Britain over prostrate India. Yet his conduct on this occasion has been the subject of considerable controversy, and many consider that he led on his troops too daringly to an unequal combat. The panegyrists of the general, on the other hand, argue, that he availed himself of this apparent disadvantage as the only footing upon which the enemy could be induced to engage in regular battle. But this plea is refuted by one of his interesting letters to Sir Thomas Munro, where he disclaims any intention of acting separately from Colonel Stevenson, and admits himself to have been taken considerably by surprise, when he discovered the whole Indian army assembled on the extensive plain. He judged, however, that under existing circumstances, he could not retreat without disastrous consequences. Sir Thomas, rather a severe military critic, observes, " If there was any thing wrong, it was in giving battle ; but in the conduct of the action every thing was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share ; left no part of it unemployed ; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed at the very moment that it was most necessary." In regard to the result also, it has been said, that the enemy suffered so little of actual loss

as to render the battle very indecisive. But besides the capture of their formidable artillery, and the extensive dispersion which in undisciplined armies always follows defeat, it appears probable that this triumph, achieved by such a disparity of numbers, produced a moral effect greater than would have arisen from a much more decisive victory gained under ordinary circumstances. There is something extremely sensitive in the Indian mind, that is acted upon with extraordinary force by whatever is strange or unexpected. Such displays of valour they never fail to exaggerate, attaching to them a mysterious efficacy which partakes deeply of the supernatural. It was on the field of Assaye that the spirit of India was vanquished ; and Hindostan, after that fatal day, was viewed by its people as having passed into the hands of invincible conquerors.

After this victory Scindia proceeded to make separate overtures ; but as they were presented at first through private and unaccredited channels, which he might afterwards disown, no proceeding could be founded upon them. The commander-in-chief directed Colonel Stevenson to reduce the great city of Burhanpoor and the adjoining fort of Asseerghur, which bore the reputation of being almost impregnable. The town yielded without opposition, and the fort after a surprisingly short resistance. The Mahratta chief then sued for peace in earnest, and the terms of an armistice were arranged for all his territories south of the Nerbudda. The British general next led his army against Berar, and found the rajah with his troops on the Plains of Argaom, where, contrary to the convention, he was still supported by a strong body of Scindia's cavalry. He attacked them without the slightest hesitation, and, after a contest less obstinate than at Assaye, gained a complete victory, taking 36 pieces of artillery, and losing only 46 killed and 308 wounded. Siege was then laid to Gawilghur, one of those hill-forts which are esteemed the bulwarks of India. It made a more vigorous defence than any of the other strongholds, and severe labour was required to

plant the cannon on its steep sides; but in a very few days a breach was effected, and the outer wall was carried by storm. There remained still an inner rampart, which for some time defeated the efforts of the assailants, till Captain Campbell (now Lieutenant-general Sir Colin), with a detachment of light troops, carried it by escalade, and opened the gate to the rest of the army.

Sir Arthur could now have advanced upon the rajah's capital, and completed the extinction of his power; but a vakeel had already arrived in his camp to solicit a conference preparatory to negotiation. This envoy endeavoured to prove that his master had never entertained any hostile intention; and after some unprofitable discussion on this question, asked the terms on which peace might now be obtained. The British commander demanded the cession of the maritime district of Cuttack, which was desirable for completing the Company's dominion over the eastern coast; also the surrender of a territory on the river Wurda, the authority over which had hitherto been inconveniently shared between the rajah and the nizam. Some further demands were made, but withdrawn; and the arrangements, being hastened by the fall of Gawilghur, were completed on the 16th, and the treaty signed at Deoghaun on the 17th December 1803.

Meantime, the central regions of Hindostan were the theatre of events equally memorable. Scindia's force there consisted almost exclusively of the large corps formed on the European model by De Boigne, who, having returned to France, had, as we have already stated, been succeeded by Perron. These troops were considered very formidable, consisting of 16,000 or 17,000 regular infantry, from 15,000 to 20,000 cavalry, a large body of irregulars, and a well-appointed train of artillery. General Lake, having been informed of the failure of the negotiation with their master, moved from Cawnpoor on the 7th August 1803; on the 28th he passed the frontier, and next day found the whole of Perron's horse in a strong position near Coel, a town in the Doab. He presently led his

troops to the attack; when the native army, deemed so efficient and well equipped, after a short random fire retreated with such rapidity that the English could not overtake them. The next object was the fort of Alighur, the main depot of the enemy. It was a very strong place, surrounded with a good glacis, and a broad and deep ditch always filled with water. It would have been unassailable had the entrance been confined to a drawbridge; but a terrace had been imprudently formed for that purpose, over which Lake concluded his troops might force a passage. Colonel Monson, who led the storming-party, soon penetrated across the mound and over the breastwork; but the wall was so strongly guarded by spearmen, that he could not attempt escalade. A twelve-pounder was brought forward to burst open the gate; but before it could be pointed the soldiers remained exposed to a most galling fire, which severely wounded and disabled their leader himself. Major M'Leod succeeded to the command; and, after the first gate had been forced open, pushed his way through a long and intricate passage and two successive gateways to a fourth, against which, however, the gun was employed without effect. The situation of the assailants would now have been serious, had not the major succeeded in forcing the wicket, and thus opening an entrance to his countrymen, who soon became masters of the place.

It being understood that Perron was discontented with the service of Scindia, Lord Lake was authorized to make large offers on condition of his coming over to the English, and bringing his troops with him. In fact, a letter was received from him on the 7th September, requesting to be allowed to repair with his family, servants, and property, in safety to Lucknow, but without expressing any disposition to detach his army from their allegiance. His request was readily granted; and he afterwards stated his desertion to have been occasioned by the appointment of another officer to supersede him in the command.

After the capture of Alighur, Lake marched directly

upon Delhi, the imperial capital, and the residence of him who still enjoyed the rank and title of Great Mogul. He had advanced within view of its walls, when he discovered the army, organized under French command, drawn up in a strong position to defend its approaches. Though he had only 4500 men against 19,000, yet he determined to give battle without delay; but as the enemy could not without difficulty and severe loss have been dislodged from their present ground, he used a feigned retreat as a stratagem to draw them from it. This delicate manœuvre was executed by the British troops with the most perfect order; and the enemy, imagining the flight real, quitted their intrenchments, and eagerly pursued. But no sooner were they fully drawn forth on the plain than Lord Lake faced about, and in a single charge drove them from the field, with the loss of three thousand in killed and wounded, as well as their whole train of artillery.

The British general now entered Delhi without resistance. He immediately requested and obtained an audience of the sovereign, with whom a secret communication had previously been opened. He beheld this unfortunate descendant of a long line of illustrious princes "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his former state, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmities, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and marked with extreme old age and a settled melancholy." He is described as deeply sensible to the kindness of Lake, on whom he bestowed several titles, such as "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." All his adherents, and especially the inhabitants of Delhi, expressed delight on this occasion, and the journalists, in the language of oriental hyperbole, proclaimed that the emperor, through excess of joy, had recovered his sight. Mr Mill derides these rather pompous descriptions of the "delivering" of Shah Allum, as he was in fact merely transferred as a state-prisoner from one custody to another; yet, besides having suf-

fered the most barbarous usage from some of the native chiefs, he had endured from all of them very great neglect. The French officers seem to have been inclined to treat him with respect; but the funds obtained from Scindia for his support were exceedingly scanty. The English did not indeed restore any shadow of his former power; still they maintained him in comfort, and with some semblance of the pomp by which the Mogul throne had been anciently surrounded. In return, they obtained for all their measures the sanction of a name still venerated throughout the empire; in fact, they were thus virtually seated on the throne of India.

The conquerors now marched upon Agra, the rival capital, which still possessed the advantage of being defended by a strong fort, occupied by a large body of troops. Anarchy however prevailed in the garrison, and the officers, being chiefly of English extraction, had become objects of suspicion, and were thrown into confinement. At the same time seven battalions of Scindia's army, having been denied admittance, lest they should claim a share of the riches it contained, still kept their post in the town and principal mosque. It was considered necessary to begin by dislodging them, which was effected, though not without an obstinate resistance; and the soldiers, to the amount of 2500, immediately transferred their services to the victors. The Mahratta leaders meanwhile resolved to propose a treaty of surrender; but as the time for its ratification approached they suddenly recommenced firing. The trenches were forthwith opened, and a breach being effected on the 17th October 1803, the enemy capitulated the same evening, stipulating only for the safety of their persons and private property. The treasure found here, amounting to no less than £280,000, was divided among the troops as prize-money.

There remained still in the field a corps composed of troops detached from the Deccan, reinforced by fugitives from the different armies. General Lake hastened in pursuit of this force; and, considering it only as a collection of runaways deserted by their officers, little ap-

prehended that he was about to encounter the most obstinate resistance he had sustained during the whole campaign. This body, consisting of 9000 foot, 5000 horse, and a numerous train of artillery, were rapidly retreating, when, on the 1st November, he overtook them with his cavalry alone, and determined, by an immediate attack, to prevent their escape. The enemy, however, having their motions concealed by a cloud of dust, speedily threw themselves into an advantageous position, which they strengthened by cutting the embankment of a reservoir in their front. The dragoons were led on, and had gained some advantages, when they suffered so severely by the fire from a number of well-served guns, that it was judged necessary to withdraw them, and wait till the infantry should come up. That force accordingly advanced; but the 76th regiment and a few companies of sepoys, having arrived earlier than the others, were exposed to so destructive a fire, that the general deemed it his wisest as well as safest plan, to lead singly to the charge "this handful of heroes." They accordingly carried all before them, though with severe loss; and when the Mahratta cavalry attempted to break their thinned ranks, the British horse triumphantly repelled the charge. The remainder of the foot soon appeared, and, after a desperate stand, the enemy, for the most part, were either destroyed or made prisoners. In short, by this brilliant success, the entire army, formed and disciplined under Scindia by British officers, and considered the finest possessed by any native power, was completely annihilated.

Besides these achievements, the expeditions detached under Colonel Woodington into Guzerat, under Colonel Harcourt into Cuttack, and under Colonel Powell into Bundelcund, were all conducted with the most favourable results; though we have already hinted our doubts whether these troops might not have been more advantageously employed in strengthening the armies in the principal seat of war, and rendering the success there more prompt and decisive.

Scindia, thus vanquished at every point, deserted by the Rajah of Berar, and seeing his finest levies destroyed, felt the necessity of relinquishing those expedients by which, till now, he had hoped to avert the necessity of a humiliating peace. On the 30th December 1803, a treaty was signed in General Wellesley's camp, by which he ceded the Doab, or territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable provinces beyond the latter river; surrendering thereby to the British dominion Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Great Mogul, and with them the person of the nominal emperor. He sacrificed also Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerat; while on the south he yielded Ahmednugger to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the nizam. But he regained the other places conquered from him in the course of the war. Finally, pressing offers were made to him of a treaty on the same terms as that concluded with the peishwa, by which he should admit into his territory a subsidiary force that would relieve him to a great extent from the cares of government; but this courtesy was for the present positively declined.

Meantime Holkar, while witnessing the downfal of the other members of the Mahratta confederacy, had maintained a very uncertain and equivocal position. At first he gave them ground to suppose that he would join their league; but on the actual commencement of hostilities he remained inactive, and seemed to watch the opportunity when the other powers should have exhausted themselves by mutual conflict, to throw himself in and secure a preponderance. He was struck with consternation at the victorious career of the English, who proceeded with such rapid steps, that before he could come to any decision they had completely realized their object. He seems then to have shown some disposition to take advantage of the reduced state of Scindia, and to strengthen himself at his expense. That prince at least was so much alarmed, that he accepted the offer made by the Company of a subsidiary force of 6000 men, to be sta-

tioned, however, only on his frontier, while their maintenance was to be defrayed out of the districts already ceded. Holkar, seeing himself thus completely hemmed in, and all his schemes of conquest about to be checked by the British, seems to have hastily determined to plunge into a contest with them. He threatened the territory of their ally the Rajah of Jyenagur; he made extravagant and even insulting demands; and in a letter to Sir A. Wellesley, he said, "Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered; Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacks of human beings in continual war by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." At the same time he earnestly invited Scindia, and the other princes who remained still independent, to unite against the English as a common enemy.

The governor-general, in coming to the resolution of opening the campaign against Holkar, considered it necessary not merely to reduce and limit, but altogether to extirpate a power whose existence seemed incompatible with the repose and security of all the other states. To display, however, the disinterested views of the Company, it was determined not to retain any part of the conquered territory, but to distribute it among those chiefs who adhered even formally to her alliance. Scindia was to receive the largest share, provided he gave cordial aid in overthrowing the pretensions of his rival.

Holkar, however, was by no means a contemptible adversary. His cavalry, swelled by the wreck of the other defeated armies, and by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry and 192 pieces of artillery. General Wellesley was unable to advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan; and Lake, after reducing the fort of Rampoora, left Colonel Monson, with five battalions and 3000 horsemen, to watch the enemy's movements. The prudence of this arrangement may be questioned. Holkar, who was a second Hyder for de-

sultory warfare, succeeded in bringing his whole force to act against this single detachment; yet it has been supposed, that, had Monson promptly led his men to the charge, he might have encountered with success the large undisciplined host opposed to him. But he resolved upon retreat, a movement always disastrous before Mahratta forces, which of all others are the most rapid and vindictive pursuers. Every thing, besides, combined to render his march unfortunate; the swelling of the rivers, the inundated and swampy plains, the scarcity of provisions, the desertion or hostility of the native troops, among whom was a strong party belonging to Scindia. These last, in the hour of distress, turned their arms against the British, whom they had undertaken to assist. The detachment, indeed, did not forfeit their honour, having triumphantly repulsed every attack; but they lost all their artillery and baggage; many of the sick, the exhausted, and the wounded were left behind, and cut to pieces; and when, on the 31st August 1804, they reached Agra, most of the regiments were in a state of total disorganization.

Holkar advanced upon Muttra and took possession of it; but General Lake now proceeded with the utmost expedition from Cawnpoor, and having assembled his forces at Secundra, marched against the Mahratta army, which at once relinquished its position. The Indian chief, however, contrived, by alternately advancing and retreating with his cavalry, to occupy the attention of the British commander, while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in reaching Delhi on the 8th October, which they immediately invested. The city, ten miles in circumference, with a ruinous wall, was guarded only by a small body of sepoys. Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, however, led on these troops with such spirit and judgment, that all the enemy's attacks were repulsed, and after seven days of persevering efforts they were obliged to raise the siege.

Lake, on receiving intelligence of the danger of Delhi, hastened to that capital, which he reached on

stand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the peishwa; indeed, when he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to show the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The prince studiously employed every expedient to save his favourite; sometimes endeavouring to justify him, and at other times declaring it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded of a determination to screen the offender, induced the resident, with the concurrence of the governor-general, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody. This proposal was of course still more revolting to the peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to flee with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattas against the Company. Mr Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they esteemed an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shown a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign iufluen[illegible] would have been extremely odious in the eyes of [illegible] nation. But the crime with which he stood charged [illegible] ing aggravated in the view of the natives by every [illegible] ble circumstance, as having been committed on a [illegible] of high sanctity, and within the precincts of one [illegible] holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularit[illegible] vigorous steps taken by the resident for its pu[illegible]

Our countrymen conducted their prisoner to [illegible] fortress of Tannah in the island of Salsette, a[illegible]

him so narrowly that they did not admit a single native into the guard. But this excessive precaution was perhaps the very circumstance which defeated their object. The vicinity was filled with the minister's adherents; and a groom in the service of one of the British officers, in passing near the terrace where the accused was allowed to walk, chanted gaily what was supposed to be a Hindoo song, but which really communicated a plan contrived for his escape. Through a small gap in the wall of the edifice, he reached a stable; and not being missed for a few minutes, succeeded in crossing the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the continent. He immediately hastened to the southern districts, where he began to levy troops, and raise the whole country against the English.

The peishwa disavowed all knowledge of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat; and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of this declaration, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an enemy; and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whose plans they professed to oppose. The British resident farther learned that the prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trim-buckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and [illegible]d even forwarded to him liberal supplies of money; [illegible]ng at the same time employed in military prepara[illegible], with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operat[illegible] [illegible]ith him. Secret negotiations were also carried on [illegible] Scindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, for the [illegible] of uniting the whole confederation for the over[illegible] [illegible]f British power. All remonstrances relative to [illegible]ceedings having been met by a positive denial, [illegible]s by a refusal to adopt any of the measures [illegible] as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was

thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity. Mr Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the peishwa, that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month Trimbuckjee would be again delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any answer ; but at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the resident gave warning, that these concessions could not be considered as final ; and that the peishwa, having forfeited the confidence of the Company, could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the governor-general. Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms :—That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5000 horse and 3000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of 34 lacks of rupees must be ceded ; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included ; that his highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahratta confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude ; but as the resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June 1817.

In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in the end of the year 1813. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the pacific or merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted,

could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings in fact soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations; to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor chiefs; and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. But his attention was for a time drawn off by movements in a new and somewhat unexpected quarter.

The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of the Himmaleh to the plain of Hindostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, as described in a former chapter, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Gorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect that magnificent range of mountains. Thither they transferred the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different tracts, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole Alpine region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye towards the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter, not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahratta horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Hindostan. The British, by the numerous victories gained in the late war,

had extended their boundaries along nearly the whole line of this mountain-domain. The Gorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, to which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they could found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, showed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the governor-general, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate. The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small party to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and drove them out, killing and wounding several of their number. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

Ameer Sing, the able and enterprising commander of the Nepaulese, on grounds which it seems impossible fully to understand or justify, had taken post on the western extremity of their conquests. Lord Hastings, who, in 1814, sent into the field a force of 30,000 men, availing himself of the position assumed by the enemy, formed the plan of enclosing his army, and cutting it off from the central territories. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie, at the head of their respective divisions, marched, the one to attack Ameer in front, the other to occupy the passes by which he might effect his retreat. The latter speedily penetrated into the Deyra Dhoon, one of the finest valleys which diversify the Himmaleh, and

the main channel of communication between the eastern and western districts. Somewhat unexpectedly he found this passage commanded by the fortress of Kalunga, or Nalapanee, rendered formidable, not by artificial bulwarks, but by its situation on the top of a hill, where it could only be approached through a thick and entangled jungle. That gallant officer, however, perceiving that it formed the key of the territory, hesitated not to commence an attack. He divided his army into four detachments, which, advancing from different points, were to meet at the summit, and engage in a common assault. Such a plan is at first view imposing; yet it appears founded on false principles, and in practice is likely to prove extremely perilous. The chances are many that the different corps will not all reach their destination at the same moment; and if one arrive before the others, it will have to encounter the united resistance of the enemy's force. Such was the case now; one division making their way through every difficulty, arrived in front of Kalunga before they could be supported by the rest of the army. The general then came up, and seeing his troops thus exposed to the whole fire of the besieged, led them at once to the assault, hoping, with this corps alone, to carry the place. They accordingly dislodged the outposts, and arrived under the very walls; but were twice driven back by showers of grape-shot, arrows, and destructive missiles peculiar to Indian warfare. Gillespie, nevertheless, determining to carry the fort or die, placed himself at the head of the storming-party, and cheered them on, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate. At this moment a ball pierced his heart,—he fell; and all hopes of success were at once abandoned. The arrival of another division served merely to cover the retreat of the former. Colonel Mawbey, however, who succeeded to the command, felt deeply the importance that this first and great military operation should not be finally abortive; but he was obliged to delay his meditated attack till a battering-train was procured from Delhi. Three days

afterwards a breach was effected, and an assault commenced, under the command of Major Ingleby; but the resolute defence, and formidable fire of the garrison, again baffled every effort. The batteries, notwithstanding, continued to play till the walls, which were by no means lofty, were reduced almost to a heap of ruins; and the natives then evacuated the place which they had so gallantly defended. General Martindale, who now took the command, advanced to attack the enemy stationed at the strong fort of Jytuk; but here again the British troops, through their too impetuous valour, were thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back with considerable loss. At the same time, the army which was attempting to penetrate direct into Nepaul through the district of Sarun had two of its detachments surrounded and cut off; on which account operations on that side were completely paralyzed.

These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfal of British power in India. Movements were made by Scindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings, judiciously considering that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepaulese and compel them to sue for peace was the only mode by which the evil could be remedied, augmented and concentrated his force already stationed on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses that commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kemaoon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April 1815, took Almora,

its capital. Ameer, now closely confined to his fortified post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army with the troops under his charge.

The government of Nepaul were so deeply discouraged by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of several chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who proposed even to seek support from the Emperor of China, they determined to open a negotiation. The terms demanded by Lord Hastings were high,—including the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west, and also of the Teraee or Tarryani, the border of jungle which extends along the base of the mountains. This last article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so much on account of the actual value of the territory, as because most of the principal chiefs at court had in it assignments of land from which they derived their income. The marquis, considering the point to be of little consequence, had made up his mind, and given directions that it should not stand in the way of an adjustment. The Nepaulese ambassadors had, in fact, agreed to the terms and signed them, but when transmitted for ratification, the court was induced, on the grounds just stated, to refuse its consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer room for the intended concession; and no alternative was left but the renewal of war. This was attended with considerable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but even part of the military stores sold off; however, extraordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January 1816, was again ready to take the field.

The enemy had intrenched themselves in the strong pass of Chereea-ghatee, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory; but General Ochterlony, by a skilful though laborious march, turned this position, and penetrated to Muckwanpoor, in the vicinity of which they had erected several forts and stockades. Two successive defeats convinced them of the folly of their attempt to contend with British troops; they made over-

tures for a fresh negotiation, in which all the points in dispute were yielded; and in March a definitive treaty was concluded. The governor-general was then with a good grace able to grant, as a matter of favour, most of the districts for the possession of which they had been so extremely solicitous.

The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy, which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal, when threatened by Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but, amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot prince of Jyepore, who had made heavy complaints of having in 1806 been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but, the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the British having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Pursajee, so infirm both in mind and body as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Saheb, his cousin and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of regent, to which he seemed

to possess a legitimate claim. Another chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhonsla, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the councils of Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of 7½ lacks of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr Prinsep, was viewed at the presidency with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Mahratta league, and fixed in our interests; and not as what it really was, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

The occupation of Berar afforded great facilities for operations against the predatory powers, whose main rallying-point was in Malwa, the hilly province to the northward of the Nerbudda. The governor-general, however, had not yet obtained permission to root them out of that strong country, and was obliged to content himself with drawing a cordon along the southern bank of the river, by which he hoped to prevent them from again penetrating into the Deccan. Unfortunately for themselves, Cheetoo and other chiefs had at this time acquired a considerable increase of strength. They had been left several years nearly unmolested; and had even received secret assurances of support from the principal Mahratta chieftains, who were meditating a fresh attempt, with the aid of the Pindarees, to subvert the ascendency of Britain. They were, however, considerably alarmed by the appearance of the force stationed on the Nerbudda; but seeing it remain inactive, while they themselves had mustered 23,000 cavalry, they conceived

it possible to penetrate at some point the extended line along which the English were posted. Accordingly, with 10,000 horsemen, they crossed on the extreme right with such rapidity, that our infantry were unable either to arrest or overtake them. They then separated into two *lubhurs* or plundering bands, one of which proceeded due south into the country of the nizam, and reached the banks of the Godavery. The other marched eastward, and entered the Company's territory of Ganjam, where in the course of twelve days during the preceding year they had killed and wounded nearly 700 persons, and carried off or destroyed property to the value of £100,000. A third party crossed at Burhanpoor, and overran the dominions of the peishwa to some distance beyond Poonah.

The Pindarees had thus eluded the regular force appointed to check their inroad; yet though they were still liable to be attacked by several detached corps that were scouring the country in different directions, they never stationed sentries, nor took any similar precaution against an evil to which they were always exposed. While the large body who had reached the Godavery were deliberating on their future course, Major M'Dowal, with a party of light troops, came upon them so unexpectedly, that they had received a discharge of fire-arms before almost a man of them was mounted; and they were obliged to flee, abandoning nearly all their horses and plunder. One bold chieftain, with 260 troopers, crossed the Peninsula, swept along the western shore, and, ascending the Tuptee, reached his home with less indeed than half his original number, but all of them carrying in their saddles a rich booty. Major Lushington again, learning that the other band had passed Poonah, made a march of fifty miles, came upon them while busied in cooking, and gave them so complete a defeat that only a few escaped. In Ganjam, too, they met with several surprises, in one of which Lieutenant Borthwick beat up their camp with only fifty men. They abandoned their attempt to penetrate into the territory of Cuttack; and

learning that a plan was formed to intercept their return, they endeavoured to effect their object by a circuitous route through Bundelcund, in the course of which Colonel Adams and other officers inflicted upon them very severe losses.

Although this campaign had been in some measure successful and even triumphant, it afforded reason to apprehend that India could never be secure from the inroad of these marauders, so long as they should have a place of safe retreat. Upwards of 30,000 troops had been employed against them, a number adequate to a regular war on the greatest scale, and involving an immense expenditure; yet they had penetrated through a strong line of defence, while their subsequent failure was occasioned only by an undue security, which they would probably learn to correct. The permission granted by the government at home to prosecute the war against them was far from being unlimited; but the marquis trusted that the events which had occurred during this campaign, and the success which he hoped would still attend his measures, would procure for him the sanction of the Company.

About the middle of the year 1817, the governor-general put in motion the most numerous and efficient host that had ever perhaps taken the field in India. Its entire amount is estimated at about 81,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; of which 57,000 advanced from the Deccan and Guzerat, and 34,000 from Bengal through Hindostan Proper. To the corps from the Deccan were attached 13,000 irregular cavalry, and to that from Bengal 10,000 of the same force, many of them good troops. The main body of the Bengal army, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings, assembled at Secundra, and proceeded to cross the Jumna near Calpy. Another corps was instructed to pass that river at Agra; while two smaller sections were to act on the flanks, and to connect this with the other armies. The Deccan force was to advance in two divisions under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; Colonel Adams led the

regiments from Berar, while Generals Doveton and Smith took post in the rear, ready either to support the main body, or to suppress any commotion that might arise at Poonah or Nagpore. General Keir meantime led the army of Guzerat into Malwa. All these divisions formed a complete circle around the Pindaree positions, closing in upon them as to a common centre. This system of tactics, which in contending with disciplined forces is accompanied with the danger that the enemy, availing himself of his central position, may successively attack and beat the different corps advancing against him, was attended with no such hazard when directed against troops who never encountered an adversary in pitched battle,—whose sole aim was escape, and to whom flight was victory. It was by such a movement only that they could be enclosed and finally crushed.

There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them, seeing in its success the downfal of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the courts of Nagpore and Hydrabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. Besides, the Pindaree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Scindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes, that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain:—" All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears. His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal leader of the Pindarees, had made urgent applications that he would allow to him a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, " that thereby my heart may be set at ease,

and I may face the English with confidence. Then for once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge." To this Scindia's ministers replied, that they could not take such a step without an immediate rupture with the British government; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings considered it indispensable, before leaving Scindia's dominions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. Colonel Close, the resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that he should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the governor-general; that he should furnish a contingent of 5000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might be supported; finally, that he should provisionally deliver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which, to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There was even to be a private understanding, that while the contest lasted he should not quit his capital. Scindia manifested the most violent opposition, first to the English entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms attached to that movement; nor was it till Lord Hastings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another, were each within a day's march of his frontier that the treaty was reluctantly signed.

A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he must thereby lose every thing on which his importance and power had been founded; but in return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the

terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previously to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army was surrounding him on every side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

The Pindaree chiefs could not view this immense force, especially when it began to close in around them, without the deepest alarm. While the rainy season still suspended operations, they held frequent conferences on the state of their affairs. Their only hope, they were convinced, was to quit their present haunts and seek a temporary home in some remote quarter of India. But it was difficult to find a secure place in which to deposite their property and their families; for even amid their wandering life they were still susceptible of the strongest domestic attachments. This embarrassment and the violent dissensions which had long reigned between their two principal heads, Kurreem and Cheetoo, caused them to break up without having formed any definite plan. The invading armies began to move as soon as the rains had abated, and while the swelling of the rivers might yet impede the rapid movements of their adversaries.

The opening of the campaign, meantime, was retarded by two very unexpected circumstances:—The first was the appearance in the main army of that terrible epidemic, usually denominated the *cholera spasmodica*, which, after creating desolation and dismay in the greater part of India, spread through Persia into Russia, and thence all over Europe, occasioning a very considerable loss of life in the British empire, and then reaching even to the American continent. In its first progress, it struck the world as a new and unheard-of visitation; but further researches have established, that the same disease has from time to time appeared in the East. Ancient writings, in the languages of Southern India, describe it very distinctly under the names of Sitanga or Vishúchi. Ex-

tensive ravages are represented to have been committed by it in Bengal in 1762; in a division of troops which in 1781 were marching through the district of Ganjam; and in 1783, during the annual festival at Hurdwar. In 1787, a malady, the symptoms of which clearly establish its identity, prevailed at Vellore and Arcot on the coast of Coromandel. It had not however, during a long period, assumed any formidable aspect, and in the comprehensive tables published by the medical board at Madras, the column for cholera spasmodica in 1815 and the two following years exhibits nearly a continued blank.

This disorder first showed itself, in August 1817, in the zillah of Jessore, about sixty miles north-east of Calcutta, in the marshy districts which form the Delta of the Ganges. The whole of the tract extending along the lower course of that river is intersected by numberless branches of its stream, whence are derived canals and tanks that diffuse the benefit of irrigation almost to every field. These artificial channels, however, are often in bad repair and filled with stagnant water, while even the river itself at certain seasons has not current sufficient to preserve its salubrious qualities. Added to this, the extreme violence of the heat in summer, and of the rains in winter, renders the whole of this part of Bengal liable to fevers and other climatic disorders. When any of these atmospheric phenomena occur in an extraordinary degree, and especially when, by injuring the cultivated fields, they render the grain scarce and bad, epidemics of the most malignant description are frequently generated. The years 1815 and 1816 were distinguished by very striking peculiarities of season and weather. In May of the latter year, the heat became most intense, the thermometer rose to 98 degrees in the shade, and various persons, both European and native, fell down dead in the streets. A deficiency in the periodical rains was also apprehended till the beginning of September, when there poured down a complete deluge, causing a more extensive inundation than was recollected by the oldest inhabitant. This was followed by attacks of low

typhus fever, and of malignant sore throat,—a disorder formerly unknown in that region, but believed on this occasion to be contagious.

The year 1817 was from the first uncommonly moist, and the annual rains began on the 25th May, about three weeks before the usual period. They fell to a depth greater by one-third than in ordinary years; so that, before the middle of August, nearly the whole district composing the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water. It was during the distempered state of the air thus produced, that the malignant cholera broke forth on a scale hitherto quite unprecedented. The disease, either in its common or violent form, appeared nearly at the same time in different parts of Bengal. But it was in Jessore, situated in the tract called the Sunderbunds, covered with thick jungle and surrounded by stagnant waters, that it assumed its most alarming aspect. At Calcutta, during the month of August, many cases of common cholera had occurred; but at the beginning of September it appeared in that city under its most malignant type; though whether it was imported from Jessore, or rose spontaneously under similar circumstances, is a question not yet decided. It spared Europeans for a few days, but began to attack them on the 5th, though without committing the same dreadful ravages as in the native town; yet the register of one of the life insurance societies exhibited a proportion of deaths four times as great as in several preceding years. The malady was diffused almost simultaneously through the different cities of Bengal, rapidly ascended the Ganges, and spread even to the west of the Jumna; sparing, however, the comparatively elevated territories of Oude and Rohilcund.

In the beginning of November, in consequence, as is supposed by some, of the arrival of a detachment from the lower province, this disease in its most virulent form broke out in the army under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings. Troops on a march are observed to be peculiarly liable to its attack, which is imputed to the extreme heat of the tents, doubtless com-

bined with the great exposure to the atmosphere. The cholera appeared while they were slowly marching through the low and unhealthy district of Bundelcund, which labours under a singular deficiency of good water. For about ten days it converted the camp into a large hospital. All the public establishments being engrossed by the care of the troops, the numerous camp-followers could not be accommodated except in the tents of their masters, who formed also their only attendants. The route over which the army moved was strewed with the dead and dying; the bazars were deserted; even those persons whose health was good suffered under severe depression of spirits; so that during the whole period the efficiency of this fine body of men was completely destroyed. The usual bustle and hum of a crowded camp was changed into an awful silence, broken only by the groans of the sick and lamentations over the dead. In the European patient death usually followed from six to twelve hours after the attack, while the sepoy was carried off in about half that interval. The malady raged with its utmost fury from the 15th to the 23d November, when it ceased almost at once; so that the army having reached a more salubrious camp, at Erich on the Betwa, became rapidly convalescent, and by the commencement of December were prepared to enter on the duties of the campaign.

The loss sustained during this most gloomy crisis was very greatly exaggerated. It has been represented even by good authorities as amounting to three, five, or even eight thousand,* out of the whole division of ten thousand men. More precise statements by Mr Prinsep and Mr Kennedy, derived from personal and official knowledge, prove this inaccuracy to have arisen from the not taking into account the vast crowd of camp-followers, who, in an Indian army, always greatly outnumber the soldiers. When the proper distinction is made, it appears that the deaths among the troops amount-

* Bisset Hawkins' History of Cholera, p. 169.

ed only to 764; while the loss among the camp-followers was about 8000, which did not however exceed a tenth of their entire number.

We cannot here follow in detail the progress of this severe malady, which made its way in every direction. After having spared in its first progress the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, it reached them in April and May 1818, and in the following months penetrated to Catmandoo, Almora, and other very elevated positions on the chain of Himmaleh.

The march of armies into the centre of India, and the despatches sent through every province of that country, were supposed to diffuse more and more widely its fatal influence. The natives, instead of using any rational means of cure or prevention, sought to avert it only by pompous and crowded visits to the temples, which increased the danger of communicating the disease; or by sanguinary proceedings against certain persons who were suspected of producing it by witchcraft. In the course of the year 1818 it spread through every part of India. The report of the medical board at Madras contains an interesting map, showing its track through the Deccan and the south by an irregular course, sometimes along the high roads, sometimes in cross directions; but, in the end, leaving scarcely any point of importance untouched. It reached Nagpore on the 15th May,—Bombay by way of Poonah on the 14th August,—Hydrabad on 25th July,—Madras on 8th October,—and finally the extreme stations of Trivanderam and Palamcotta in January 1819. Throughout these provinces it manifested itself in various degrees of intensity. In general, however, this dreadful disease seemed to be marked, rather by its fatal effects than by the great number who were actually attacked. The entire amount of cases occurring in the army of Fort St George during 1818, the most severe year, was 1087 out of 10,652 Europeans, and 3314 out of 58,764 natives. Of the former 232, and of the latter 664 died.* In the

* Report of Madras Medical Board, p. 28.

island of Bombay, which contains a population of about 210,000, the ascertained cases were 15,945, of which 14,651 were medically treated, and the deaths among these were only 938, or $6\frac{4}{10}$ per cent.,—perhaps the smallest proportion of mortality that has any where been observed.* Instances, however, are given of single corps, particularly on a march, suffering much more severely. The 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of native infantry was proceeding to Hydrabad, when of about 1150 men 200 were attacked, and 73 died. The 1st battalion of the 1st regiment, on its road from Nagpore to Hydrabad, out of 1010 men had 167 attacked, of whom 64 died. His majesty's 54th regiment, on their way from Madras to Bangalore, had 159 out of 632 attacked, and 54 died.

Another unexpected crisis arrested Sir Thomas Hislop with the army of the Deccan, just as he had arrived on the frontier of Malwa. Intelligence then reached him that Bajee Rao had taken up arms and attacked the British residency in his capital; upon which Sir Thomas judged it necessary to fall back, that he might support the reserve corps, and aid in the suppression of this insurrection. General Keir, who had advanced from Guzerat, was induced by the same information to retreat. But Lord Hastings justly considered that the fortune of the campaign must ultimately depend upon the prompt success of the operations in Central India, and conceiving Smith's force, with another under Pritzler, quite sufficient at present to overawe the peishwa, ordered these commanders to return without delay to the scene of action.

The Pindarees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. One party succeeded in penetrating into the rear of our army in Bundelcund, where they began to commit serious ravages, and were not dispersed without some difficulty. Cheetoo, with nearly 8000 men, effected a march westward into the territory of Mewar, where he

* Bombay Report, App. pp. 13, 14.

was assured of support from several quarters, and had the strong mountain-fort of Kumulner as a refuge for his family. The escape of the Pindaree chiefs, when so great a force surrounded them, Colonel Blacker explains by a reference to the defective means of conveyance possessed by the British; to their having, in the dread of encountering a Mahratta army, encumbered themselves with ordnance; and, above all, to the agility of the native horses, which can pass over the most rugged roads and uneven ground with great speed. Kurreem, with one of his associates, attempted to push his way to Gwalior, where he hoped to find support from Scindia. All the passes in this direction, however, were most strictly guarded; and a strong corps was appointed to watch the motions of that ruler, whose secret enmity to the British was so fully understood. The first that came up with this body of Pindarees was General Marshall, who easily drove them before him. They escaped without much loss, but were obliged to change their direction and march for the territory of Jyepore, where they hoped to be joined by some of the disbanded troops of Ameer Khan. On their way thither they were surprised by General Donkin, who gave them a complete overthrow, capturing the wife of Kurreem, with all his state-elephants and kettle-drums. His army, therefore, no longer attempted to preserve any appearance of regularity, but broke into detachments, and sought for safety by fleeing in various directions. The greater number endeavoured to reach the corps of Cheetoo; and, accordingly, the final destruction of that warrior appeared all that was now necessary to finish the Pindaree contest, when there started up another head of the hydra which the English were labouring to vanquish.

The councils of the house of Holkar had been involved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British, became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir, Mulhar Rao, was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority

was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Holkar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The lady, with the direct view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving a subsidiary force. This measure was firmly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and the weight of their opinions was so strongly felt by the regent, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized her person, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations. Troops, especially infantry, were collected with the utmost diligence, and their movements assumed so formidable an aspect, that Sir John Malcolm judged it advisable to fall back upon the corps of General Hislop, who, as already mentioned, had begun a retrograde movement, but was again advancing towards Poonah. These commanders having effected a junction, proceeded together, and found the native army strongly posted at Mehidpoor, with a steep bank in front, at the foot of which flowed the river Soopra, passable only by a single ford. Although this position might have been turned by a circuitous march, Hislop considered such an advantage more than counterbalanced by the impression which would be produced by pushing on promptly and directly to the attack. This mode of proceeding, it has been often observed, is better suited than more scientific manœuvres to the genius of English troops. A scene then ensued, similar to that which usually took place in Mahratta battles; the British regiments rushing forward with the most daring intrepidity in the face of a numerous artillery, by which they severely suffered, and at length, when they came to a close charge, carrying all before them. They lost 174 killed.

and 604 wounded; there being among the former three, and among the latter thirty-five European officers. The Mahrattas, though they left 3000 on the field, retreated with a great part of their army entire: but they abandoned all the artillery; their courage and confidence were gone; and though their numbers were not greatly diminished, they were no longer a regular force. The chiefs therefore at once accepted the offered terms; namely, that young Holkar should be placed under the protection of the Company, who were to maintain an auxiliary force, and to have a contingent of 3000 men at their disposal; and that certain districts of moderate extent should be ceded, not for the purpose of being possessed by the conquerors, but distributed as rewards to those allies who had remained faithful during the present contest.

After losing the support of the Holkar family, the Pindarees found an unexpected asylum with Jeswunt Rao, one of Scindia's generals, who occupied several strong camps in the neighbourhood of Rampoora. After several fruitless remonstrances, General Brown attacked this chieftain, reduced his intrenchments, and obliged him to flee with only a handful of followers.

The hopes of the marauders were now reduced to the lowest ebb. Flight, they knew not whither, became their only resource. They had obtained Kumulner and other fortresses in the Rajpoot territory; but these being quickly invested, were, after a short resistance, all given up. Major Clarke having overtaken the party under Kurreem during the night, and finding them plunged as usual in profound security, delayed the attack till morning, that they might derive no advantage from the darkness. He divided his corps into two bodies, with one of which he made the charge, while the other occupied the only road by which the enemy could retreat. They sustained, accordingly, a complete overthrow, and were dispersed in every direction, leaving several of their chiefs dead on the field. After suffering some farther disasters, their whole body was reduced to a state truly

miserable. Cheetoo and his adherents sometimes slept with their horses saddled, and the bridles in their hands, that they might be ready for instant flight. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the means of an honourable subsistence secured for the chiefs in some remote district. One after another submitted upon these terms; and at length Kurreem, after wandering for some time on foot through the jungles, gave himself up, on the 15th February 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Cheetoo opened a negotiation; but, on learning the small allowance which was to be granted to one whom he thought entitled to a jaghire in his native country and a place in the British service, he hastily took his departure. He afterwards encountered a variety of distresses, which ended in a manner equally dismal and appalling, being devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur. His fate excited sympathy among our officers, who admired the spirit and intrepidity with which he had on all occasions braved the deepest reverses of fortune.

While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages, of which the most remarkable occurred at the court of Poonah. The peishwa, ever since the last treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him; and the employment of the British forces in the Pindaree campaign offered a tempting opportunity to reassert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shown him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond a very short period; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahratta states could create. But the peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual

situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his own chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the other leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great indeed was his address, that Sir John Malcolm, an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived, and communicated his opinion, that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the peishwa. But Mr Elphinstone, the official resident, entertained from the first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the projected war, though for a purpose directly opposite. At the same time, the jaghiredars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahratta horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr Elphinstone, anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force. Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November 1817, so sudden an attack was made that

the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses, when his mansion was plundered, and all the property, including his books and papers, was either carried off or destroyed.

General Smith, though placed in the rear of the grand army, had agreed, if a single day should pass without his hearing from Poonah, that he would conclude the communications were interrupted, and hasten thither with his whole brigade. A week, however, must necessarily elapse before his arrival, and to keep the sepoys in the mean time cooped up in a narrow space, harassed by the enemy's artillery and light horse, would, it was feared, damp their courage, and promote that tendency to desertion which had already been strongly manifested. Hence the officers determined to march out with their small corps and attack their foes, who, to the amount of 26,000, were already stationed in front. This movement was executed promptly, and with such vigour, that though the enemy's horsemen made some desperate charges, and reached several times the flanks of the English brigade, the latter finally remained masters of the field. They had not indeed done much damage to their adversaries; but the intrepidity of their attack, and the amount of their success against numbers so vastly superior, changed decidedly the moral position of the two armies. When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the peishwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahratta camp, that prince at once commenced a retreat. He continued it upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to reinforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in a village, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his

attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The peishwa finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him; though, in order to sooth in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahratta people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid siege to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance. The interval afforded a brief respite to the peishwa, and lulled his vigilance; so that when this officer had pushed on by forced marches, at the head of a division of light horse, he arrived unobserved within hearing of the Mahratta kettle-drums. Concealed for some time by the brow of a hill, he appeared on its summit to the astonishment of the Indian leaders. The fallen prince forthwith left the field with his attendants; but Gokla determined to hazard a battle rather than sacrifice nearly the whole of his baggage. He made the attack with the greatest vigour, and had succeeded in throwing part of the cavalry into some confusion, when he fell mortally wounded. His death was regretted even by the English, since his enmity to their nation, and zeal for the independence of his own, had been tempered with honour and humanity. The whole army immediately fled, and the British obtained possession of the person of the Rajah of Satara, who had before been a prisoner in the hands of his rival.

Bajee Rao still continued his retreat, of which he as-

sumed the sole charge; and gave out every morning the direction in which the troops were to move, having concealed it till that moment from his most confidential officers. After much and long wandering, he moved northward to the borders of Berar and Malwa, where he partially recruited his strength by collecting the remains of the beaten armies. But he soon found himself hemmed in still more closely; and in pursuing his march, in the absence of proper information, he met Colonel Adams at the head of a considerable force, and could not avoid a battle. He was defeated, with the loss of most of his infantry and all his artillery, saving only his horse and light troops. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Scindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahrätta chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater every day; his followers deserted in vast numbers; and the English drew their nets round him so skilfully that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lacks of rupees (about £100,000), he should renounce the dignity of peishwa, with all his claims as a sovereign; spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a prince who ranked in authority and power above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. He immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which, it is said, he had been always addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was

passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid by assassination of the young prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called to which the dignity of rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to regard it with the dislike so generally felt by all persons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into that confederacy against the British power which was formed among the Mahratta chiefs in consequence of the Pindaree war; and was observed also to carry on an active correspondence with the peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November 1817, Mr Jenkins, the British resident, was invited to see his highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the juree putka or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the rajah's acceptance of these honours at such a moment; and indeed it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the Company's servants were warned of approaching danger.

The subsidiary force then stationed at Nagpore was very small. It consisted only of two battalions of native infantry, with detachments of cavalry and artillery; and the whole, being much reduced by sickness, did not amount to 1400 men. The rajah's army, on the contrary, comprised 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including 3000 or 4000 very brave Arab troops. The residency

was situated outside the town, and separated from it by a ridge rising at each extremity into low hills, which were hastily occupied as defensive posts. At sunset the piquets were fired upon by the Arab infantry, and soon after a general discharge of artillery was opened upon all the positions, particularly those on the smaller eminence. This was continued till two in the morning with considerable effect, the first officer in command on that station being killed, and the second wounded. The English, during the remainder of the night, made the best preparations in their power against the more serious attack which was anticipated in the morning; and, accordingly, at daybreak the charge was renewed with increased fury. At ten a tumbril burst on the lower hill, which threw the troops into some confusion; the Arabs rushed on with loud cries, the sepoys were seized with panic and fled, abandoning the guns and the wounded, who were immediately put to the sword. The enemy then began a heavy fire on the larger hill, when several officers fell, and among them Mr Sotheby, the resident's assistant, a young man of distinguished merit, while he was endeavouring to rally and restore the courage of his men. The dismay of the troops, the cries of the women and children, the vast numbers and increasing confidence of the enemy, seemed to portend the most fatal result. Yet, even then, resources were found in British firmness and courage. Captain Fitzgerald, who had withdrawn the cavalry within the residency-grounds, seeing the critical state of the infantry, and the fire already extending to his station, felt that affairs could be retrieved only by one of those bold attacks which a native army can scarcely ever resist. He accordingly led his few horsemen to the charge, drove every thing before him, took two guns and turned them against the enemy. The troops on the other hill, animated by this example, resumed courage, and, raising loud shouts, opened a brisk fire on the assailants. A party dashed across to the smaller elevation, from which the rajah's followers were driven in their turn, and about noon were repulsed at every point. Yet the British had

lost a fourth of their number, and their ammunition was drawing to a close, so that had Appa persevered, he must have finally succeeded in cutting off the detachment,—an event which would have produced the strongest sensation over all India. But he remained inactive, while reinforcements poured in to his antagonists from every quarter. On the 12th December, for example, Doveton arrived with the strong reserve under his command, and it then became impossible for Saheb to hope for success; he had already obtained an armistice, and now inquired as to the terms on which a final accommodation might be effected. Mr Jenkins replied that nothing would be accepted short of entire submission,—the disbanding of his troops, the delivering up of all his forts and artillery, and his own presence as a hostage at the British residency. It was, however, intimated, that, on his complying fully with these requisitions, he would be restored to nearly his former condition, being required only to maintain a subsidiary force, and submit to a certain degree of control. When the troops, however, marched into Nagpore to take possession of the ordnance, they were saluted with a hot fire, and suffered some loss before they could seize the guns and compel the Arabs, who took the chief part in this resistance, to retire within the fort. As they refused to surrender, a siege was immediately commenced, and a practicable breach appeared to have been made in the gate; but when the assault was given, it was found to be so secured by interior walls, that the English were obliged to retreat with considerable damage. Preparations were then made to invest the place on a more regular plan; but the garrison, satisfied with the display of valour which they had already made, capitulated on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them; wherefore on the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he might retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his

being placed entirely on the same footing with the nizam; having his military force subjected to the control of the Company, and even his ministers appointed by them. The rajah only so far expressed his dissatisfaction as to offer to retire altogether on a liberal pension,—a proposition which was not considered admissible. He therefore began forthwith to intrigue, with the view of shaking off this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to muster their forces, and give every possible annoyance to the enemy; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered with Bajee Rao, who being invited to join his army to the standard of the peishwa, had actually taken steps for that purpose. Mr Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable to call upon Appa to resume his place within the residency; and this not being complied with, a party was sent who effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian princes than to keep them: the rajah being mildly treated, and access procured to him by several of his adherents, a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the discovery was not made till daylight; so that, relays of horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain. But as the Pindaree war was now terminated, and Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the mountainous districts. The English were thus able, on their own terms, to seat on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson of Raghojee Bonslay, while the administration was placed entirely under their own control.

In the beginning of 1822, the Marquis of Hastings was induced by certain family circumstances to intimate his wish to retire from the high situation which he had filled for nine years. The Court of Directors passed a unanimous vote of thanks for the unremitting zeal and ability with which he had discharged its functions; and this was subsequently confirmed by the Court of Proprietors. In the subsequent October, Lord Amherst

was nominated his successor, and arrived at Calcutta on the 1st August 1823. The principal event of his administration was the war with the Birman empire, which, after some vicissitudes, was completely successful, and the Company acquired a considerable addition of territory on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. As this contest, however, was carried on entirely beyond the limits of India Proper, it does not belong to the subject of the present work.

But in 1825 an important event occurred in the interior of India. After the death of the Rajah of Bhurtpore in that year, his legitimate heir, Bulwunt Singh, being dethroned by Doorjun Sâl, his cousin, applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, then resident at Delhi. That officer embraced the prince's cause; but his conduct in doing so was disavowed by the governor-general, who, at this crisis, showed a disposition to proceed upon the old principle of non-interference. Farther information, however, induced him to change this intention, and Lord Combermere was ordered to march upon the city and expel the usurper. This able commander accordingly, with 25,000 men and an ample train of artillery, proceeded to attack that celebrated stronghold. The siege was begun on the 23d December; but it was soon found that cannon-shot could not penetrate mud-walls sixty feet thick, and that it would be necessary to employ mining operations. By means of these a breach was effected on the 17th January 1826; the assault was given next morning, and after a gallant defence of two hours, in which many veterans who had triumphantly fought in the former siege took an active part, the place was carried; Doorjun was made prisoner; and there remained no longer in Hindostan a fortress that had successfully defied the British arms. While this conflict lasted, a general ferment was observable among the surrounding principalities; and Bishop Heber doubts not, that had the attack failed, the whole country westward of the Jumna would have risen in arms, at least so far as to resume the predatory system of warfare. This triumph, however,

checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain.

Lord Amherst's conduct both in the Birman and Bhurtpore contests, was the subject of severe criticism at home, especially by the liberal party, who had by that time acquired great influence. They particularly complained of his having continued the severe restrictions on the press introduced by Mr Adam, during his temporary possession of power in the interval after Lord Hastings' departure. Influenced by these and other motives, the Company, in 1826, determined to recall his lordship, who left India in the following year. Having ultimately afforded much greater latitude to public discussion, and being in his general conduct very amiable, he had acquired considerable popularity. He was created viscount and earl, and the Courts of Directors and Proprietors passed votes of thanks to him by large majorities, though not without some warm discussion.

In July 1827, Lord William Bentinck was sworn in as the new governor-general. His election was peculiarly acceptable to Mr Canning, then premier, but who died before his departure. His lordship was understood to go out with the intention of introducing a liberal and economical system, which was now considered desirable. He arrived on the 2d July 1828, and soon after set out on a tour to the upper provinces, in order to survey the state of affairs, and endeavour to cement the relations of amity with the neighbouring independent princes. A visit was paid to Scindia's family at Gwalior, and some time was spent at Ajmere, where the Rajpoot chiefs were invited either to visit him, or to send ambassadors. Extensive military reductions were made, particularly on the field allowance called batta, which excited a great deal of discontent among the officers, many of whom were of good family, and had gone out in the hope of living in splendour, and acquiring fortunes. No general conflict took place during Lord Bentinck's administration, but some partial disturbances agitated the ruder borders of our Indian possessions.

In 1832 and the following year, considerable annoyance was sustained from a tribe named Chooars, inhabiting the jungly tracts on the eastern limits of Bengal. An extensive contraband trade in salt, favoured by this situation, gave them the habit of acting in large bodies, which they soon improved into an extensive and organized system of plunder. Individuals of high distinction were strongly suspected of exciting and supporting them; though this could not be legally proved. The ostensible leader was Gunga-narain, chief of a small village in a hill-pass, whose house was only a clay edifice, surrounded by sheds covered with grass. The depredations were at length committed on so great a scale, and with such impunity, that it became necessary to enter into an avowed war against them. Four regiments and a large body of irregulars were at one time employed, yet found much difficulty in putting down these marauders. Gunga-narain, who never appeared at the head of more than 400 men, was repeatedly defeated; the Chooar fortresses were successively taken and destroyed; yet the pillagers still lurked under the thick cover of their entangled forests. At length their daring captain was killed in a casual encounter with another tribe, after which his followers mostly dispersed, and did not again muster in any formidable numbers.

About the same time, the hill-country behind the Circars became the scene of some serious disturbances; for in those rugged tracts, bands of robbers had begun to assemble and plunder the lower districts. Gradually they were organized into two great bodies called Fittoorydars, assuming the aspect of an insurrection, which was understood to be fomented by some great zemindary families. The first detachment sent to attack their principal stronghold was repulsed with the loss of about fifteen men killed and wounded. Reinforcements having been brought up, the insurgents evacuated the fort; and they were then hunted from place to place, being dispersed chiefly by surprises, to which their incautious system rendered them always liable. At length several of their leaders being

taken and executed, the district was restored to a state of tranquillity.

In 1834 a more serious contest arose in the west of India. The Coorg rajah, as we had formerly occasion to mention, was an attached ally of the British, and had given material aid in the conquest of Mysore; but the sceptre had now descended to his son, a violent and tyrannical youth, who had exercised such excessive cruelties in his own family, that his sister and her husband were obliged to flee to the English for protection. The rajah demanded, in the most peremptory manner, that they should be given up, and on this being refused, addressed letters of an insulting tenor to the Madras presidency and the governor-general. One of the Company's servants being sent to treat with him, was put under confinement, and his release refused. He was accused at the same time of having assumed an attitude of hostility against us, and of receiving and encouraging our avowed enemies; on which grounds a proclamation was issued on the 1st April 1834 from Calcutta, deposing him from the office of rajah, and announcing that a force was about to enter and take possession of his territory.

This country, as to its capacity of coping with the British power, might, from the small amount of its population, have been considered as utterly contemptible. The extreme difficulty of the ground, however, composed altogether of lofty mountains, covered with the thickest and most entangled jungle, defended by a race of determined valour, gave to it a somewhat serious character. A force of 6000 men was placed under Brigadier Lindesay, in whom was vested the supreme command of the expedition; and marching from Mysore with the main body, he entered Coorg on the 1st April. The troops were harassed by the difficulties of the road, which were much increased by large trees cut down and laid across it, so that they could scarcely accomplish above five miles in fourteen hours. The enemy, however, did not venture to encounter him, and all the stockades were found deserted.

On the 6th the army entered without resistance Mudakerry, the capital, on which the British flag was displayed. The campaign thus seemed to have been easily and triumphantly terminated; and yet it acquired a somewhat disastrous character, from the operations of three other detachments which entered the territory at different points. Owning that we may not have full means of judging, we yet cannot help calling in question the policy of sending so many separate and unconnected bodies into the heart of so difficult a country. There was every ground to presume that the reduction of the capital would carry with it that of the whole district, as it actually did; and even had it been otherwise, these subordinate posts could scarcely have failed soon to follow the fate of the leading one.

Colonel Foulis, marching from Cananor, on the western coast, approached, on the 2d April, the entrance of the Hugul Ghaut, the principal opening from this side. The enemy had fortified it with three successive stockades, as well as with breastworks and felled trees at every hundred yards. Their posts were driven in, and on the 3d, at six in the morning, the attack began. The first stockade was carried with trifling loss; but from that time till four in the afternoon, a series of very hard conflicts was maintained in carrying the successive barriers, which the enemy defended with vigour, carrying on at the same time a continued skirmishing from the wood. The last stockade was only captured by attacking it in reverse as well as in flank. Next day, as the colonel continued to advance, a flag of truce appeared bearing a proposal from the rajah for a suspension of arms. He replied, that if the Coorg troops did not fire, his would also abstain from doing so; but that nothing should prevent him from passing through the ghaut. He accordingly effected this march without opposition, and on the afternoon arrived at Hugul. His service was now completed, with the loss of twelve killed and thirty-six wounded; but among the former was Lieutenant Erskine, a very promising young officer.

At the same time, Colonel Waugh, from the north,

advanced upon a fortified position named Buck, seated on the brow of a steep ascent, and accessible only by a narrow defile through a dense jungle. The assailing party was divided into two, who were each to make a detour and take the stockade in flank; but being misled, it is said by native guides, they both met in front of that barrier. With characteristic valour they rushed forward to the attack; but the place was so strong and so vigorously defended, that all their efforts were vain, and their ranks were thinned by a most destructive fire. Upon encountering this resistance, the commander directed Lieutenant-colonel Mill to send part of his force to support the storming-party; and immediately that officer, inspired by a too ardent valour, led them on himself, and was followed by the whole detachment. An impetuous assault was then commenced against the stockade; but being in a great measure built of stone, it baffled every attempt, while a most murderous fire issued from it against our countrymen. Mill was shot dead on the spot, and several, while vainly attempting to rescue his body, fell around him. Major Bird then determined to withdraw the party, and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including three officers, and 118 wounded.

Another column, under Lieutenant-colonel Jackson, advanced from Mangalore upon a position named Bullary Pett; and this officer, learning that there was a strong stockade five miles in front of him, sent Captain Noble with a detachment to reconnoitre it. The latter made his way through a narrow and winding path, till he arrived in front of the barrier; and having completed his reconnaissance, he began his return, when a running fire was instantly commenced from among the bushes. His party continued exposed during the whole of their retreat to this assault from an invisible foe, whom they could neither elude nor repel; and the casualties amounted to thirty killed and thirty-six wounded. Colonel Jackson, after considering this loss, and the reported strength of the position, thought it impossible to attempt carrying the

stockade without further reinforcements, and fell back upon Coombla. This transaction was at first made a subject of official inquiry, but was ultimately decided to have arisen from inevitable circumstances, without any reproach on the commander.

The war, as formerly observed, was already decided by the primary movement of the main body upon the capital, where the rajah, in no degree emulating the courage of many of his subjects, did not even attempt resistance. On the 11th April he entered Mudakerry in pomp, with about 2000 attendants, mostly unarmed, and fifty palanquins containing his female establishment. He then surrendered himself, in the hope probably of being reinstated on certain conditions. But the British had already formed their determination ; his territory was annexed to their dominion ; and the rajah, receiving only an allowance fitted to support a suitable household, was removed to Bangalore. Prize-money to the amount of thirteen lacks of rupees was distributed among the army.

Gwalior being the most powerful of the independent states now remaining, its interior movements were regarded as of considerable importance. Dowlut Rao Scindia having died, left the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bye ; and that lady, to ensure a male successor to the throne, as none had been left by her husband, adopted a youth under the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and the title of Maharaja. This young man, on coming of age, aspired to the actual possession of the supreme power, which the Bye was by no means inclined to grant ; while he, without any regard to his obligations to that lady, determined to use every means of enforcing his claim. When the governor-general visited the capital, he solicited his aid to place himself upon the musnud. Lord William, however, intimated, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British government could by no means interfere ; then reminding him of what he owed to his patroness, advised him to pay the utmost deference to her, and await the time when she might be willing to place the government in his hands. But he

was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833 made an attempt to seize the reins of power. This being frustrated, he repaired to the mansion of our resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it fast locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bye. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza, and perhaps desirous of change, applied a ladder to the maharaja's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agreement was made, under the mediation of the resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the musnud, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholapoor. There she still attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, was allowed a revenue of ten lacks of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtyghur. The Company in this case proceeded on the principle of non-interference, and of acknowledging the sovereign *de facto*, whoever he might be. Yet this conduct was criticised by some, who considered the change unfavourable to our interests, from a female ruler of pacific habits, to a military government with a violent and ambitious young man at its head. In fact, some serious disturbances followed, both in the durbar and army, in which British interests and wishes were not much regarded; however, Jhundkoo displayed a degree of vigour which enabled him at last to establish an uncontrolled authority.

An affair of a more serious aspect soon after arose with Maun Sing, rajah of Joudpore, who had been restored to power by the governor-general on the footing of a subsidiary and dependent ruler. He was considered, how-

ever, to have by no means duly fulfilled the conditions of his tenure ; and having absented himself from the congress of Rajpoot princes, who assembled at Ajmere in 1832 to meet Lord William Bentinck, he could not be viewed as showing a friendly or respectful disposition. Besides, he had allowed the tribute to fall more than two years in arrear ; he had given shelter to bands of marauders, and had refused, when called upon, to assist in putting down others. When remonstrances were made against these proceedings, his answers indicated no desire to comply or act according to his professed obligations ; and it was therefore determined to march against him a force which might either compel unqualified submission, or dethrone him. For this purpose 10,000 men were ordered to assemble at Nusserabad on the 20th October 1834 ; but he had no sooner learned that matters were coming to so serious a crisis, than he sent a deputation of thirty persons, with a numerous attendance, to Ajmere, to treat with the residents there, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to Britain, and regret at having given offence. When informed, however, that no declarations would be esteemed of any value, unless followed up by certain specific actions, namely, the immediate delivery of the refugees, and payment of a large sum of money, they made many apologies, and showed an extreme anxiety to avoid compliance. But on inquiring what alternative awaited the rajah, and being informed that he would be forthwith dethroned, they showed the utmost consternation, and solicited a delay of at least two days. At the end of that time, after some farther attempts to parry the blow, they finally yielded an unqualified submission ; and the storm which threatened the peace of Western India was thus averted.

A part of the force prepared for this expedition was immediately after employed against the Shekhawuttees, a rude tribe occupying the almost desert territory westward of Rajpootana. A number of these petty chiefs had been accustomed to subsist by plundering the neigh-

bouring districts, and when these were held by native powers this was regarded as a matter of course. Having now, however, come into contact with the Company's territory, they continued towards it the same system of indiscriminate marauding; and yet when the British force under General Stevenson marched into the country, no attempt had been made for an organized resistance. The forts of the freebooters were rased to the ground, the district of Sambhur was retained as security for the expenses, and a detachment left to overawe the rude natives.

The Rajpoot state of Jeypore was soon after the scene of a tragical and distressing event. The rajah, a thoughtless and voluptuous youth, had left the whole administration in the hands of Jotaram, originally a banker, an able man, but believed to bear that unprincipled character too common among Indian statesmen. The prince died suddenly, leaving an infant as the heir; and as the inspection of his body was refused to the public, a strong suspicion arose that the minister, finding his master about to shake off his influence, had secretly murdered him. Amid the ferment thus occasioned, the British residency interposed, and procured the removal of Jotaram, and the transference of the government to a regency,—measures which appeared entirely accordant with public feeling. Soon, however, a jealousy was entertained that public affairs were placed entirely under the dictation of a few foreigners, and a feeling of enmity arose, which broke forth fatally on the following occasion:—On the 4th June 1835, Major Alves, the resident, with Mr Blake, Cornet Macnaghten, and Lieutenant Ludlow, had an interview with the Myesaheb or dowager-princess. After taking leave, as the first-mentioned gentleman was mounting his elephant, a man rushed out of the crowd with a drawn sword, and inflicted three wounds, one in the forehead; but these being immediately dressed, he was placed in a palanquin, and conveyed home in safety. The assassin having been seized, Mr Blake undertook to conduct him to the place of con-

finement; but as he proceeded, the cry was raised, "The Feringees have shed blood in the palace!" A crowd instantly assembled, who are said to have been joined by many of the police; stones were thrown, and attempts made to stop him by maiming his elephant. He reached the city gate, which was found shut, whereupon he turned back, and sought shelter in a mundur or temple, which was then fastened on the inside; but the multitude burst in, and he fell pierced by numerous wounds. He is said to have been a very promising officer, and generally popular among the natives. Macnaghten, by galloping in another direction through the crowd, though assailed by stones and other missiles, reached the residency in safety. The government disowned all knowledge of this outrage, though five individuals, whose guilt was clearly proved, were condemned and executed. Suspicion, however, soon fell upon Jotaram, the late minister, and, after long preparation, he and several grandees connected with him were brought to trial before a native jury. Being found guilty of instigating and abetting the crime, sentence of death was pronounced upon them; but it was commuted to exile and imprisonment.

A strong sensation was caused in March 1835 by the assassination of Mr Fraser, commissioner and agent of the governor-general at Delhi. As he was riding out late one evening, a man rode up as if to speak to him, rapidly discharged three balls through his body, and galloped off. After some time, through the evidence of an accomplice, the crime was brought home, not only to Kurreem, the actual murderer, but to a native chieftain, the Nawab of Ferozepore, by whom he had been employed. Both were condemned and underwent the extreme sentence of the law. The execution of the former was attended by a vast concourse of natives, who, though kept in awe by an armed force, displayed a decided sympathy in his favour. It is somewhat unpleasant to learn that he was then in a manner canonized by them; that his grave was visited by great numbers, who sang songs

and strewed flowers over it. The rajah was executed without the gates, which were shut, and any large attendance of the people was thereby prevented.

In the course of the year 1834, Lord William Bentinck was obliged, from the state of his health, to make known to the government at home the necessity of resigning his high office, and in March 1835 he embarked for England. His departure was the subject of very general regret; for his administration had been marked by economy, a pacific spirit, and one of mildness and indulgence towards the natives. His system was considered by a party, especially among the military, as having been carried somewhat too far; but it was conformable to his instructions, and prompted undoubtedly by the best motives. His efforts to improve internal intercourse by the establishment of steam-vessels between the different Indian ports, and the formation of extensive lines of road through the interior, commanded universal applause. He favoured also the diffusion of education and knowledge among the Hindoos, and his views were seconded by the amiable and benevolent exertions of Lady Bentinck. A statue of his lordship was erected by subscription. His place as governor-general was supplied in the interim by Sir Charles Metcalfe; and on receiving intelligence of Lord William's resignation, the Court of Directors unanimously nominated Lord Heytesbury, a choice which was cordially sanctioned by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, then ministers. The proceedings in Parliament, however, soon led to their resignation, and the accession to power of the Whig party, who deeming it important to have a governor-general whose views accorded with their own, annulled the appointment. The Directors, though they expressed some dissatisfaction at this change, finally concurred in the nomination of Lord Auckland, who was entirely acceptable to ministers. On the 4th March 1836 his lordship landed at Calcutta, and assumed the reins of government.

About this time another mountain-struggle occurred

in a territory named Goomsoor, inhabited by a peculiar race named Khoonds, who had remained nearly independent. Their rajah having shown a refractory spirit, a considerable force was despatched against him ; and the troops, on reaching the summit of the alpine chain, were surprised to see an extensive and fertile tract of country covered with fine villages in romantic situations. Little serious resistance was encountered ; Goomsoor and the principal forts soon fell ; the rajah, and afterwards his son, submitted ; yet a number of detached chieftains, exercising a sort of feudal power over vassals devotedly attached to them, kept up for a time a desultory resistance. In one skirmish two British officers were killed. The prolongation, too, of the war in a country filled with jungle and marshy districts caused severe sickness among the troops, and two campaigns elapsed before this bold tribe could be brought under full subjection.

A considerable sensation was excited in 1837 by the succession to the throne of Oude, the most important dependency of the Bengal government ; an event the prospect of which had for some years attracted attention, as the king's infirmities indicated that the throne would soon become vacant. That weak prince had acknowledged as his sons two youths, Kywan Jah and Moonah Jaun ; but the general belief was, that he had acted under the influence of certain females, and that they were not his children. He himself finally made a declaration to that effect, and, after a good deal of consideration, the British authorities determined to set them aside, and to support Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, his majesty's eldest surviving uncle, who, according to the peculiar tenor of Mohammedan law, was considered the legal heir. But the Padsha Begum, or queen-mother, a bold and ambitious princess, had, in the mean time, adopted Moonah Jaun, and was determined to espouse his cause.

On the night of the 7th July 1837, Colonel Low, the resident, received a message that the king was taken suddenly ill, and believed to be dying. This officer,

having ordered his troops to be in readiness, obeyed the summons, when he found that his majesty had just expired. Having in this crisis obtained from Nusseer-ood-Dowlah an engagement to sign such a treaty as the governor-general should dictate, he led him to the royal residence, where preparations were made for his immediate installation. Suddenly, however, a great noise was heard, and it soon appeared that the Padsha with an armed force of about 2000 men, was approaching the palace, which, as our soldiers were not yet come up, was very slightly guarded. In spite of a warm remonstrance, the natives burst open the gates, filled the edifice with shouts and clamour, seized both the prince and the Company's servants, in presence of whom Moonah Jaun was placed on the throne, the Begum being seated in a palanquin beneath him. The insurgents after some violent proceedings towards the resident, allowed him to retire, when, upon finding his men assembled, he sent repeated messages to the Begum, calling upon her to surrender. As she returned evasive answers, a battery was opened, and in a short time she and her minions were made prisoners. The old prince, whom, though he had endured many insults, they found safe, was immediately seated on the throne, and his accession announced by a royal salute to the inhabitants of the capital.

All these proceedings were approved by the governor-general; but of the promise extorted from the king relative to a new treaty, it appears that no advantage has been taken.

Claims were advanced by two nephews, sons of a deceased elder brother, who urged that, as their father, if alive, would have succeeded, they ought to inherit in his stead. This question, however, had early attracted the attention of the Indian government, who, after much consideration and reference to high authorities, as well as precedents (among which was that of the present King of Delhi), had concluded that, according to the principles of the Soonee sect, a son cannot succeed to rights or property to which his father was heir, if he died before

coming into actual possession. In this case, the inheritance goes to a brother. A curious contest also arose between the two princes which was the eldest; but as both were excluded, there was no need to discuss this question. One of them spent a considerable time in England, but without being able to obtain any attention either from Parliament or the Company.

We must finally notice that important series of events which has recently carried the British arms to this side of the Indus, and involved our government in the politics of Western and Central Asia.

The kingdom of Cabul, under Ahmed Abdalla, had, towards the end of the last century, become one of the most powerful in Asia; and after his victory over the Mahrattas in the battle of Panniput, in 1761, the Mogul throne seemed completely within his grasp. He had the moderation or prudence, however, to content himself with the rich provinces on the Indus, and the fine valley of Cashmere. Having added Balkh, Herat, and Sinde, he formed a great monarchy, estimated to contain above fourteen millions of inhabitants; and this dominion Mr Elphinstone, on his mission to Peshawer in 1808, found still entire in the hands of his successor Shah Sujah ul Mulk. But it was then on the eve of a great revolution, and in a few months afterwards, that prince was driven out by his brother Mahmoud, whose successes, however, were mostly achieved by his vizier Futeh Khan, of the Baurikzehee tribe. That minister having incurred the jealousy of his master, was deposed and his eyes put out,—a cruel deed, which roused the vengeance of his numerous offspring. The usurper was driven from all his territories except Herat; and, after some vicissitudes, Cabul, Ghizni, Candahar, and Peshawer, were partitioned among members of the Baurikzehee house, the two first falling to Dost Mohammed, the most powerful of their number. Amid these distractions, Runjeet Sing having acquired absolute authority over the warlike race of the Seiks, made himself master of the provinces eastward of the Indus, to which he added

Cashmere. Balkh was seized by the sovereign of Bokhara; the chiefs of Sinde threw off their dependence; while the fine territory of Herat was occupied by Kamran, son to Mahmoud, the only branch of the house of Ahmed Abdalla to whom any thing now remained. In this manner a monarchy, lately so great, was parcelled out into a number of disjointed fragments.

Shah Sujah, after his expulsion, resided at Loodiana, being allowed by the British government a pension of 4000 rupees monthly. He kept a longing eye upon his lost kingdom, and having received invitations from various chiefs of Afghanistan and Khorasan, he was persuaded that, if he could raise the funds necessary for an expedition, he would find no difficulty in reascending the throne. He made proposals, accordingly, in 1831, to Runjeet Sing; and that ambitious ruler of the Punjaub intimated a willingness to aid in his restoration, provided, besides other advantages, he were confirmed in all the dominions which he either possessed or had pretensions to, including Peshawer. Difficulties, however, arose, and the treaty was not finally concluded till the 12th March 1833. The shah's immediate object was to raise two or three lacs of rupees, which, with a somewhat larger amount expected from the Sinde chiefs, would, he thought, set his armament in motion. His attempts, however, were coldly received; and the British government agreed only to give an advance of four months' allowance, or 16,000 rupees, without taking any further concern in the enterprise. Hence the exiled prince could not begin his march till the season was somewhat advanced. He passed first through the territories of the Rajah of Bahawulpore, from whom, to his great indignation, he received only an old gun and 1000 rupees; and then, with the consent of the chiefs of Sinde, he crossed the Indus, and established himself at Shikarpore. Those leaders, however, turned a deaf ear to his urgent applications for money; and the shah, who had now assembled a considerable force, determined to take that affair upon himself, demanding from the city

a contribution of three lacs, and seizing all the crops in the surrounding districts. The Sindians thereupon levied a force, and marched to attack him; but being completely defeated, they agreed to the payment demanded, and even to send an auxiliary force. The conqueror, thus supplied, advanced, in February 1834, upon Candahar, and was joined on the road by numerous adherents. He defeated a force which attempted to oppose his progress, entered the city, and laid close siege to the citadel. The Baurikzehee brothers retreated upon Cabul, and, as disunion was understood to prevail between them, the complete and speedy success of the undertaking was anticipated. But Dost Mohammed, by indefatigable exertion, assembled an army, and marched upon Candahar, the chiefs of which sallied forth from the citadel, and an engagement ensued, in which the army of Shah Sujah was totally defeated and dispersed. He himself at the head of only 200 men fled in the direction of Herat, but afterwards regained India, though mortified by the total failure of this attempt to recover his crown. The "Lion of the Punjaub," however, succeeded on his part in capturing Peshawer, and annexing it to his dominions.

Dost Mohammed, elated by his victory, and indignant, not without reason, at the conduct of Runjeet Sing, who certainly had acted without any provocation, became eagerly desirous, not only of recovering the lost territory, but of entirely overthrowing this ambitious potentate. Sensible that his own power was inadequate to the undertaking, he hoped to accomplish it by a general confederacy among the powers of Central Asia; and the one from whom he could look for the most effective aid was the sovereign of Persia.

The empire just named has been involved in a continued series of revolutions. The last century in particular was marked, first by the conquest of the Afghans, then by their expulsion on the part of Nadir, and the splendour to which he raised the monarchy; after his death, a long anarchy ensued, out of which she was raised by

Aga Mohammed, great grandfather to the reigning prince. Under him and his son, Futeh Ali Shah, she was supported in a respectable position, but having to contend against the advancing power of Russia, with whose numerous and disciplined troops hers could not cope, she was stripped of some of her finest provinces between the Caspian and the Black Sea. In this situation the government applied for assistance to England, which, jealous of the progress of the czar, supplied some pecuniary aid and experienced officers to discipline the shah's troops. Nothing more was meant, however, than to maintain him in a purely defensive position, and with this view he was dissuaded from all schemes of war and conquest.

An alliance thus founded on mutual interest, seemed to promise permanency; but a change gradually came over the councils of Persia. Although her improved discipline could not enable her to contend with Russia, it gave to her arms a decided superiority over the rude tribes of Khorasan and Afghanistan. The former country, long held by brave and turbulent chiefs, was, after a desperate struggle, reduced to submission. The adjacent province of Herat was next aimed at, and after its conquest, there appeared no difficulty, in the present distracted state of Afghanistan, to extend the Persian sway to the Indus. To these schemes the old king, Futeh Ali, unwillingly assented, chiefly on the impulse of his son, Abbas Meerza, whose younger brother he had made governor of Khorasan. In 1834 he died; and as Meerza had previously deceased, his son Mohammed now succeeded. This young and aspiring sovereign, who had actually led an expedition against Herat, embraced with ardour the new and ambitious system of policy. To carry it on successfully, the acquiescence of Russia was indispensable, while her aid might prove of the greatest advantage. England, on the contrary, had always opposed schemes of conquest, and would doubtless view with peculiar jealousy those carried in the direction of her own frontier. It might scarcely have been expected

that Russia would favour the aggrandizement of an old enemy, from whom she had wrested so many valuable provinces, which there was doubtless an eager desire to recover. Yet there was in her cabinet a powerful party who urged the adoption of these views. They considered that attempts at distant conquest would only increase the dependence of Persia on so powerful a neighbour; and they had probably other views to be forwarded by such profound diplomacy.

The question, whether Russia contemplates the conquest of British India has been much canvassed, and in most cases with imperfect local knowledge. Her route is presumed to lie across the vast, almost desert regions of Turkistan, and then through the tremendous passes and eternal snows of the Indian Caucasus, by which it is argued that the complex apparatus of a modern army could never be conveyed. This was indeed the course followed by Alexander and Timur; but the former was obliged to pursue Darius into Bactria, while the latter came from Central Asia. There is, however, another route leading through Persia and Afghanistan, and along the southern verge of the great chain, which is beset with no peculiar difficulties; and this has been usually followed by the conquerors of Hindostan, the Ghisnevide, the Patans, Baber, and Nadir. At the same time, though Russia could send by this track 40,000 men, we imagine her too politic seriously to think of such a step. By employing, however, or even promising a much smaller force, she might acquire a preponderating influence in Western Asia, and might hope to overawe Britain by exciting alarm for her Indian possessions.

By communications from Mr Ellis, our envoy in 1835, it appears that both powers were strongly actuated by these views. The Persian court openly avowed its claim not only upon Herat but upon Candahar and Cabul; and great preparations were making for an expedition against the former city, the immediate prosecution of which was eagerly urged by Count Simonich, the Rus-

sian ambassador. In April 1836, a deputy arrived from the chiefs of Candahar proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, even offering themselves as feudatories, and holding out the hope that through their aid the shah might follow the steps of Nadir to Delhi. He was received with great favour, and the alliance agreed to, though the Persian minister, in his communications with Ellis, represented such language as that of a madman. Mr M'Neill, who succeeded that gentleman, reported, in September 1836, that the shah had actually marched against Herat. At Astrabad, the dearth of provisions and the insubordination of the troops reduced him to great distress; yet the Russian minister continued to urge even a winter campaign. Lord Durham being hereupon instructed to represent these particulars to the Russian cabinet, Count Nesselrode answered, that if Simonich had really acted in the manner alleged, it had been in direct opposition to his orders. Letters were afterwards shown from the ambassador, asserting that he had used all his influence to dissuade the shah from the expedition; yet Mr M'Neill declared, that his information was confirmed by all the Persians with whom he conversed, the prime minister not excepted. Preparations were avowedly making for a fresh expedition, when an envoy arrived from Kamran, offering not only the redress of all positive complaints, but an annual tribute, and the aid when required of a military force. Our agent strenuously urged the acceptance of these terms, intimating that otherwise the intentions of Persia would evidently be conquest, which would give decided umbrage to the British government. The prime minister replied, that Herat was a province of their empire,—that the object required was submission, which would include all the other conditions, while the bare use of the term shah by its chief was expressive of disobedience. The entire conquest of Herat was thus openly contemplated, and without any regard to the remonstrances of our ambassador, Mohammed began his march. When he was near Meshed, a messenger employed by the British

representative was seized, stripped, and carried to the camp, where he continued to be treated with indignity, even after the remonstrances of Colonel Stoddart. Mr M'Neill had no doubt the object was to show contempt for the English, and remove the unfavourable impression derived from their opposition. The Persian ruler meantime reached, and in ten days reduced, the frontier fortress of Ghorian, which had been considered very strong. Elated with this success, he proceeded to besiege the capital, where Kamran, having concentrated his forces, had begun a vigorous defence; yet the general opinion in Western Asia was, that he could not long resist the formidable force now brought against him.

The British government in India, on receiving this intelligence, instructed our minister to use his utmost exertions to mediate a peace between Persia and Herat. He accordingly set out for the latter place, and, after many difficulties, succeeded in persuading the shah, who began to suffer from want of provisions, to enter into a negotiation, which seemed even in a fair train, when Count Simonich arrived at head-quarters. Then the views of Mohammed were entirely changed, and the treaty was suspended; for the Russian not only supplied money, but aided with his advice the operations of the siege. As, however, it advanced slowly, the shah, ten days after, sent for Mr M'Neill, and offered to close with Kamran's proposal, provided the ambassador would pledge the guarantee of Britain. The latter felt this somewhat beyond his powers, yet, on considering the very great importance of the object, he at last gave his consent; upon which the other altered his tone, advanced new demands, and resumed the siege.

The cause of this change was soon understood to be the arrival of a messenger from Kohundil Khan, ruler of Candahar, expressing the most friendly sentiments, and a disposition to co-operate against Herat. It was known in fact, that about four months previously Captain Vicovich, a Russian officer, had proceeded to that city through Persia, having been received on his way with distinction, and supplied with money. The result of this

mission forthwith appeared in a treaty, by which the shah agreed to cede the town to the chiefs of Candahar and to defend them against attack from any quarter; in return for which he was to receive allegiance, peesh-cush (tribute), and military aid. This treaty was sanctioned in the name of Russia by Count Simonich; upon which Mr M'Neill, defeated in all his views and scarcely treated with common decency, quitted the camp on the 7th June 1838.

Meantime, uncertainty reigned as to the views of Dost Mohammed at Cabul. Lord Auckland sent thither Captain Burnes to negotiate for the free commerce of the Indus, and if opportunity occurred, to endeavour to restore peace between him and Runjeet Sing. The former prince received the envoy well, and soon introduced political subjects, endeavouring to gain the support of Britain. He was assured, by a letter from the governor-general, that she would readily interpose her good offices to negotiate a peace with the Sheik chief, who had accepted her mediation, and he might thus be secured in all his actual possessions, though he must not expect any more; for even this was only on condition of his renouncing all political connexion with the powers to the westward. These terms were by no means equal to his expectations, so that Vicovich and a Persian envoy having arrived with great boasts and promises, he was induced to prefer their alliance. Captain Burnes was then allowed to depart, bearing with him a very ambiguous letter to Lord Auckland.

This situation of affairs was considered by the governor-general as calling for the most serious consideration. The ultimate fall of Herat appeared still inevitable, all means of relief being apparently cut off by the Candahar treaty. The whole of Western Asia would then be united in one vast confederacy, under the influence of Russia, which would thereby be able to disturb at will the repose of India, where there were doubtless many princes eager to shake off all dependence on Britain. Under these circumstances, the system of non-intervention, hitherto pursued, was thought no longer practicable nor

even safe. Shah Sujah had a legitimate claim to the throne of Cabul ; and he had in his favour a strong party, which Major Wade reported to be decidedly superior to that by which the Baurikzehees were maintained in authority. He had formed an intimate alliance with Runjeet Sing, then engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Cabul. It appeared that Britain, by a union with these two powers, could easily replace the exiled monarch on his throne, and thus render the strong country of Afghanistan friendly, and a sure bulwark against all attacks from the westward. In pursuance of these views, a treaty between the three parties was signed at Lahore, on the 26th June 1838 ; and a considerable force was marched from the Bengal provinces upon the Indus, where it was to be joined by all the disposable troops of the Bombay presidency.

Shah Mohammed continued to prosecute the siege, and on the 23d June made a general assault, planned by Count Simonich, who complained however that his directions had not been attended to. The Persians attacked with much bravery, but were repulsed with great slaughter, the Afghans pursuing them sabre in hand across the ditch. Yet as the blockade was continued, and the difficulty arising from want of provisions appeared to be in a great measure removed, on the 10th July Mr M'Neill sent Colonel Stoddart with a notice that its farther prosecution would be considered an act of decided hostility towards England. The message was doubtless rendered weighty by the prince's knowledge of the triple alliance, and the approaching march of British troops into Afghanistan. On the 14th August he announced his unreserved assent ; but it was not till the 9th September, that he took his departure, and without attempting to negotiate the treaty with Kamran on the terms formerly stipulated.

In October 1838, Lord Palmerston presented a remonstrance to the Russian government, reminding them of their professed desire to maintain Persia in a pacific state, and asking whether their policy was to be judged of by the declarations of their cabinet, or by the acts of their

ministers? Count Nesselrode, in two successive papers, reiterated the same pacific professions, particularly disclaiming any designs upon India, as impracticable and inconsistent with any sound and reasonable policy. Yet, by a singular course of reasoning, he defended the conduct of those officers, not excepting Simonich's active share in the siege of Herat, representing it as merely aiding a friendly power in distress, while the Candahar treaty had been a purely defensive one. It was, however, announced that both officers had been recalled, and the place of ambassador filled by General Duhamel, "so well known for the moderation of his character, that his nomination alone may be held as the surest proof of the line of conduct which he is instructed to follow." The emperor had also refused to ratify the treaty of Candahar, however harmless, as being "beyond the limits which he had fixed to his policy," and took no part in the civil wars of the Afghan chiefs. As this was written on the 5th March 1839, when the British expedition was fully known, it amounted to an engagement not to oppose that measure. Lord Palmerston, therefore, while declining to give any assent to the reasonings contained in these despatches, expressed entire satisfaction with the result.

The campaign opened early in 1839; but as the full official details have not yet been published, we purposely confine ourselves to such a general outline as cannot admit of mistake. In February, the Bengal army reached the Indus at Bukkur, where a bridge of boats was thrown across the river, here 490 yards wide, by a great exertion of skill and activity. The Sinde chiefs, who had at first made fair promises, afterwards resolutely refused a passage through their territory. They even collected a large force at Hydrabad; but, on the approach of the British, yielded without striking a blow, and even agreed to furnish aid both in money and military service. In the beginning of April, the army was concentrated at Dadur, and on the 5th went through the Bolan pass on its way to Candahar. No enemy opposed their march; yet much hardship and many privations were endured, owing to the

rugged and desolate character of the country. Early in May, Candahar was entered without resistance, and, on the 8th, Shah Sujah was crowned amid the highest apparent demonstrations of satisfaction on the part of the inhabitants.

After some time spent in recruiting the army, General Keane began his march upon Ghizni. That celebrated capital, strongly situated, and now fortified with the utmost care, was considered in Asia as almost impregnable ; and Dost Mohammed had garrisoned it with a strong body of troops under the command of his son Hyder. Sir John Keane, however, who arrived on the 21st July, having next day reconnoitred the works, determined to hazard an assault ; and on the 23d, in two hours, that great bulwark of Afghanistan was carried by British valour. The young prince was made prisoner, and treated with courtesy. The father, meanwhile, having raised an army of 13,000 men, was marching to relieve the place ; but his troops, upon hearing of its reduction, were so struck with dismay that they refused to follow him, and he fled with only 300 horsemen. The conquerors, in their subsequent advance upon Cabul, did not encounter any enemy ; and Shah Sujah, on the 6th August, was fully replaced on his throne.

The campaign, which was thus triumphantly closed, afforded a fresh proof of the valour and perseverance of a British army. The ultimate advantage to be derived from it must be determined by the fact whether Sujah has so strong a party in the country, that he can maintain himself in power without the aid of Britain. This hardy and warlike nation would ill brook having a sovereign imposed upon them by a foreign power. But from what has hitherto appeared, there seems ground to entertain the most favourable hopes as to the consequences, immediate and remote, of our brilliant success in Afghanistan.

While the British troops were occupied in this distant war, and the issue seemed doubtful, strong symptoms appeared among the princes of Hindostan of a wish to shake off their dependence. The Rajah of Sattara, as

formerly mentioned, had been drawn from the prison in which the other Mahratta chiefs held him, and invested with a certain sovereignty, on condition of his being entirely guided by the advice of the British resident, and holding no intercourse with foreign states through any other channel. He was found to have violated this engagement, and even to have taken a share in hostile negotiations. Yet, he was offered a continued enjoyment of power, provided he would renounce such unfriendly measures, and dismiss the minister who was supposed to have prompted them. Having refused to comply, he was seized, confined in a neighbouring fort, and Appa Sahib his brother placed on the throne. Slight disturbances also took place at Poonah. At Hydrabad, a somewhat serious conspiracy was formed among thirty or forty leading men, headed by the nizam's brother, a proud and daring chief; but, being discovered, it was baffled, and the prince conveyed to the fort of Golconda. During the investigation which followed, the Nabob of Kurnaul, a place situated about 120 miles farther south, was found implicated. A force was immediately marched to reduce the town, which was entered without opposition; and the Nabob, who had been carried away by his own troops, was pursued and captured after a sharp conflict. Within the fortress, however, were found a number of well-constructed furnaces, in which cannon and shot had been cast on a large scale, and in forms fitted not for defence only but for active proceedings in the field. These preparations had been secretly carried on for a considerable time. Again, the Rajah of Joudpore, after yielding in 1834 to all the demands of the governor-general, had constantly evaded their fulfilment, and now showed himself more than ever refractory. Six regiments, with some cavalry and artillery, were sent against him, on whose approach he abandoned the stronghold, which was entered without resistance, only one British officer being wounded. Thus, the troubles which had brooded in so many quarters were crushed, and our ascendency more fully than ever established throughout Hindostan,

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CHAPTER V.

Hindoo History and Mythology.

General Aspect of the Hindoo People—Absence of authentic History—Historical Poems—Indian Chronology—Series of Dynasties—Mythology—Ideas of the Divine Nature—Brama—Vishnu—His Avatars or Transformations—Siva—Doorga—Kalee—Minor Deities—Worship of Rivers—Of the Brute Creation—A Future State—Transmigration of Souls—Ancient Temples—Elephanta—Kenneri—Carli—Ellora—Mahabalipoor—Pagoda at Tanjore—Temples in Rajpootana—Modern Structures—Religious Rites—Mendicity—Pilgrimages—Penances—Self-immolation—Idol Cars—Suttee—Infanticide—Hindoo Sects—Vishnuvites—Sivites—Boodhists—Seiks—Native Christians—Jews.

Having thus traced the varying fortunes of India till nearly the whole of that vast empire was subjected to British control, we shall now attempt to delineate its social and political condition, both as respects its own numerous population, and the military and civil arrangements by means of which the conquerors hold it in subjection.

In this survey the most conspicuous object is that native race, celebrated from all antiquity, who still form a vast majority of its inhabitants. The Hindoos, in the wide extent of territory over which they are spread, present many varied aspects; yet a striking similarity of religion, of language diversified only by dialects, of manners and institutions, and even in some degree of external form, proclaim them to be throughout the same people. Amid great blemishes, too, they have undeniably, with the exception of the European nations, or those sprung from Europe, attained a degree of civilisa-

tion, and made a progress in the arts, beyond any other people. Of Orientals, the Chinese alone can enter into competition with them; yet though the polity and institutions of that people claim, in some respects, even a pre-eminence, they do not themselves, on the whole, exhibit a character so intellectual and interesting.

It would have been desirable to introduce a sketch of the history of the Hindoos prior to that of their Mohammedan conquerors and rulers; but there exist no materials suited to the accomplishment of such a purpose. Amid the voluminous writings of the former, we find the most lamentable deficiency of historical records. Previous to the establishment of Moslem dominion, these appear only through the veil of a mythology at once poetical and extravagant. The theology, history, poetry, literature, and social condition, of this remarkable people, are all so closely interwoven, as to make it impossible satisfactorily to consider any one of them, unless in connexion with all the rest.

It must nevertheless be admitted that they possess ancient works, which are generally believed to present somewhat of an historical character; such as the singular compositions termed the Mahabarat, as well as a great part of the Puranas and Ramayana. Yet these are religious poems exhibiting the actions of gods mingled with those of men, and leading the reader through a maze of wonder and mystery. The deities and heroes, whose exploits they celebrate, appear indeed to have been ancient monarchs who held sway over India; but many of the details are so palpably fabulous, and at the same time so childishly absurd, as to be unfit for any of the objects of genuine history. They convey no idea of the character of the actors, the manners of the age, or the train of human events.

The system of Indian chronology, though it bears a character equally extravagant, has yet, from its apparent research and imposing aspect, excited much attention among the sages of Europe. The reader will learn from Professor Wallace's treatise in the third volume, their

measurement of time by astronomical epochs, manwantaras, days of Brama, and years of the gods. It is enough to remark in this place, that the Maha Yug, or great divine age, through which mankind are now passing, consists of four human ages, the last and worst of which is at present revolving. These ages, of unequal and continually decreasing length, are the

Satya Yug, which lasted	1,728,000 years.
Treta Yug,	1,296,000
Dwapar Yug,	864,000
Cali Yug, which is to last	432,000

Of the dark era in which we live, only about five thousand years have yet elapsed. Of the satya yug, the golden age of innocence, there remains only a dim and pleasing tradition; the great flood, said to have arrived at its close, having swept away almost all its memorials. But the Indian annals, such as they are, extend over the entire series of the treta and dwapar yugs, and consequently comprehend a period considerably exceeding two millions of years. This chronology has been embraced with eager credulity by a number of learned men in Europe, who have proclaimed that all the nations of the West are only of yesterday, when compared with the boundless ages through which the Hindoo records extend. There is, however, one circumstance which breaks at once the spell of this imaginary duration. Although India possesses nothing which can approach to the character of history, many of her princes and great men preserve lists of kings which, from their coincidence, though found in different and distant quarters, appear to be substantially correct. These stretch through the whole of the three ages; but instead of that almost endless roll of names which ought to have been supplied during two millions of years, we find, by Mr Bentley's list, in the treta only sixty-six, and in the dwapar forty-seven kings; consequently the potentates of the first period must have had an average reign of 19,636, those of the second of 18,383 years. It is maintained, indeed,

on the faith of tradition, that Yadhisthur, the great hero, held sway during upwards of twenty-seven thousand years. But if we assign to the Indian monarchs the average of human life, we shall reduce these ages to an extent perfectly consistent with European history and the Mosaical records. Mr Bentley considers seventeen years as the mean length of a reign in a long series of princes. Even should we, with Colonel Tod, allow from twenty to twenty-two years, the Indian dynasties will not pass the limits of our established chronology.

Although we find thus transmitted from an early period lists of Hindoo kings which may be considered tolerably authentic, the details, as already observed, are either too meagre or too extravagant to be of any value as materials for history. A few very general outlines can alone be traced. Two races of monarchs are recorded as claiming descent respectively from Surya and Indu, the sun and the moon. The former established their metropolis at Ayodhia, the modern Oude, still a large city, and described as then of immense extent. The lunar branch had several successive capitals; first, Mahesvati in Malwa, next Allahabad, called the Pooraj, and afterwards Hastinapoori, higher up the Ganges. Colonel Tod, upon some probable grounds, considers that the subjects of this empire must have entered it as invaders from the great plain of Scythia or Tartary. Several bloody wars were waged between these states, striving for pre-eminence or final conquest. The most dreadful of these contests took place at the close of the treta yug, in which almost all the powers of India appear to have been engaged. It is celebrated under the title of the Mahabarat, or great war, in the remarkable Hindoo composition bearing that title. The chief actors were Krishna, Arjoona, Yadhisthur, and Jarasandha ; the first of whom has, as an incarnation of Vishnu, been enrolled among the principal deities. This sanguinary conflict appears to have terminated in the premature fate of almost all the leaders on both sides.

The lunar and solar dynasties continued to reign con-

temporaneously during almost the whole of the third or dwapar yug. Yet the prevalence of fable is strongly marked in the genealogy of the leading princes throughout this period; one of whom is the offspring of Pavana, the god of the winds, another of Indra or the firmament, a third of the river Ganges. These two lines, according to Sir William Jones, come down for thirty generations into the cali yug or present age, when both are supposed to have become extinct. There reigned, however, along with them another dynasty, sprung from the lunar branch, which rivalled and soon surpassed them both in power. This was that of the kings of Magadha, whom the Greeks found reigning at Palibothra over the greater part of the Gangetic provinces, and stretching their sway even to the remoter quarters of India. Chandragupta, after the murder of Nanda, one of the Magadha kings, became the founder of a new dynasty called Maurya, and is supposed to be the same with Sandracottus, whom the ambassadors of Seleucus found ruling at Palibothra. Other successful usurpers established the dynasties of Sunga, Canna, and Andhra, till that of Magadha became extinct by the death of Chandrabija; which, according to Sir William Jones, took place in 452 B.C. Very considerable obscurity envelops the succession of Indian princes during the next four hundred years. In that period there would seem to have been no extended empire, though Sir William Jones and Colonel Tod have collected lists of kings belonging to some detached and local dynasties. About the Christian era, however, Vicramaditya and Salivahana disputed the supremacy, and rank among the most potent of oriental warriors and sovereigns. The relations concerning them bear a somewhat more sober character. They rank as mortal, not as celestial heroes; yet as Vicramaditya is said to have had power over spirits, and to have made captive the king of the devils, his contemporaries, it would seem, were by no means inclined to abandon their love of the marvellous. Malwa being mentioned as his favourite region, it may be concluded to have been his native one,

and that he employed its rude inhabitants in extending his dominion over the more fertile provinces. Major Wilford has traced nine individuals to whom the name has been applied, of whom one appears contemporary with Solomon; and probably this may have been an appellative, like that of Cæsar, applied in succession to monarchs of the same dynasty.

After this period the history of the Hindoos again relapses into obscurity, giving occasion to Mr Mill's remark, that while the annals of every other nation become more distinct as they approach a modern date, those of India, on the contrary, become darker and more imperfect. This is probably to be accounted for by the fact, that the country had again ceased to be united in any extensive empire, being split into those small kingdoms, which were successfully assailed by the Ghiznevide conqueror before they could be induced to form a general league to oppose him.

After this very imperfect sketch of the history of this singular people, a more interesting and accessible object remains in the delineation of their mind and character. Under this view their religious belief and mythology must first command our attention, because it forms as it were the basis of their whole social existence. Its ceremonies employ every day and almost every hour; its ministers rank above every other class, even above kings; there is no history, scarcely any poetry, but what relates to the actions of the gods and deified heroes. Unhappily this devotion, unenlightened by divine instruction, and misled by the mysterious perversities of the human heart, instead of being a lamp to their path, has involved them in an abyss of absurdity, and impelled them to follies and even crimes, of which there is scarcely an example in any other pagan worship.

Notwithstanding its extravagance, the Hindoo system claims attention, from its striking features; from the view which it affords of the history of the human mind; and from its paramount influence on the ideas and institutions of the natives themselves. It is impossible,

therefore, without premising an outline of this religion, to convey any distinct idea of the character of those who profess it.

The learned books of the priesthood contain some sublime doctrines respecting the nature of the Deity. They distinctly recognise the existence of one supreme and invisible Author and Ruler of the universe. They even describe his attributes in lofty terms, superior to those employed in the philosophical writings of Plato, and approaching nearer than any other human composition to the delineations of the inspired penmen. We may illustrate this by quoting the Gayatri, or holiest text of the Vedas, from Sir William Jones' translation.

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun the godhead, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat.

"What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the Supreme Good and Truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge by meditating on the light of truth which emanates from the Being of beings; that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude.

"Without hand or foot he runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes he sees, without ears he hears all; he knows whatever can be known; but there is none who knows him. Him the wise call the great supreme pervading spirit."

The Supreme Mind, according to the Braminical system, displays its energies in the three grand operations of creating, preserving, and destroying. These are expressed by the letters A U M united in the mystic syllable O'M, which the Hindoo always pronounces with the profoundest veneration. These three powers are separately embodied in Brama, Vishnu, and Siva, whose names, according to the philosophers, express

only attributes of the one Supreme Mind; but the popular theology views them as distinct persons, with visible, human, and even fantastic forms, mixing with mortals, committing extravagant and often scandalous actions, controlled and oppressed by inferior deities, giants, and even by men. Their history accordingly presents a strange collection of the loftiest and the meanest, the purest and most corrupted, features in moral nature.*

To Brama, the first and highest person in the Hindoo Trinity, is assigned the work of creation. Mr Ward thinks that he is considered by the Indian sages as the Soul of the world; yet, from the examination of their writings, it does not appear that they took so refined a view of the subject. They represent him rather as having produced or drawn the universe out of himself, so that all that ever was, or is, once formed a part of his essence. His own origin was very singular. The Supreme Mind, it is said, having by a thought created the waters, deposited in them an egg, which remained inactive for many millions of years, till Brama, by the energy of his own thought, caused it to divide, and from it he himself was born in the shape of the divine male, famed in all worlds as the great forefather of spirits.

Among the Indian deities Brama holds decidedly the pre-eminence, sharing even the essence of the Supreme Mind; yet, perhaps from the very circumstance of this lofty position, he attracts comparatively little attention or worship. He has neither temples erected nor sacrifices offered to him, nor festivals celebrated in his honour. He gives name indeed to the great caste of the Bramins or priests; but no sects derive from him

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* In the engraving here given of the principal Hindoo deities, the figure in the centre, with four heads, is Brama. On the right, in front, is Vishnu, and behind, Indra. On the left, Rama is seated in front, while Siva stands behind. These figures are taken from Sir William Jones, Asiatic Researches, vol. i., except Siva, the representation of whom is borrowed from Sonnerat.

Hindoo Divinities.

their appellation, or specially devote their lives to his service.

Vishnu, in the sacred annals of India, makes a much more frequent and conspicuous figure. In his character of preserver, or more properly deliverer, he is represented as having interposed whenever the world and the race of men were threatened with any peculiar danger. The avatars of Vishnu, his descents to the earth in various animated forms, furnish the most fertile theme of Hindoo legend and poetry; for all the chiefs and heroes, whose exploits appeared to indicate a celestial origin, were considered as incarnations of this deity. These illustrious personages, in becoming Vishnu, did not lose altogether their own identity: they acquired a sort of compound existence, and had worship paid to them under both characters.

It were tedious, and not edifying, to trace at any length the many marvellous and ridiculous transformations ascribed to this god. A few instances will afford a sufficient idea of the wild though sometimes sublime ravings in which the framers of the Hindoo pantheon indulge. Vishnu made his first appearance on earth as a fish, so small as to be conveniently placed in a vase of water. This wonderful animal, however, successively expanded his dimensions, till not the vase only, but a cistern, a pool, a lake, became insufficient to contain him. Being at length thrown into the ocean, he appeared, blazing like gold, a million of leagues in extent; and the narrative concludes with an account of the fish diving and destroying a giant. Vishnu assumed secondly the figure of a boar, who grew always larger and larger, till with his tusks he raised up the earth from the bottom of the waters into which it had sunk.

The third presentation of this deity exhibits him acting a conspicuous part in that extraordinary process called the Churning of the Ocean; and there is no theme on which Hindoo mythology has thrown out such a crowd of wildly luxuriant images. The scene opens on

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It were tedious as well as disgusting to trace at any length the many marvellous and ridiculous transformations ascribed to this god. A few instances will afford a sufficient idea of the wild though sometimes sublime ravings in which the framers of the Hindoo pantheon indulge. Vishnu made his first appearance on earth as a fish, so small as to be conveniently placed in a vase of water. This wonderful animal, however, successively expanded his dimensions, till not the vase only, but a cistern, a pool, a lake, became insufficient to contain him. Being at length thrown into the ocean, he appeared, blazing like gold, a million of leagues in extent: and the narrative concludes with an account of the fish rising and destroying a giant. Vishnu assumed secondly the figure of a boar, who grew always larger and larger, till with his tusks he raised up the earth from the bottom of the waters into which it had sunk.

The third presentation of this deity exhibits him acting a conspicuous part in that extraordinary process called the Churning of the Ocean; and there is no theme on which Hindoo mythology has thrown out such a crowd of wildly luxuriant images. The scene opens on

Mount Meru, "a most exalted mass of glory, reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. Many celestial medicinal plants adorn its sides, and it stands piercing the heaven with its aspiring summit,—a mighty hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resoundeth with the delightful songs of various birds." On its pinnacle the angels and deities began to meditate on the means of procuring the Amreeta juice, the grand draught which confers immortality. It was then arranged between Vishnu, here called Narayan, and Brama, that the ocean should be churned like a pot of milk by the united strength of Soors and Asoors, the good and evil powers, till it should throw up the precious liquid. Thereupon Ananta, king of the serpents, raised up Mount Mandar, and placed it upon the back of Koornaraj, king of the tortoises. Another mighty serpent, named Vasoakee, was then fastened to the mountain to be employed as a rope; whereupon angels and demons united in grasping the serpent by the head and tail, and whirling it with such violence, that "the roaring of the ocean, while violently agitated, was like the bellowing of a mighty cloud. Thousands of the various productions of the waters were torn to pieces by the mountain, and confounded with the briny flood; and every specific being of the deep, and all the inhabitants of the great abyss which is below the earth, were annihilated. The forest trees were dashed against each other, and precipitated from its utmost height, with all the birds thereon." Such at length was the effect of this tremendous agitation, that the whole of the mighty deep was converted into one mass of butter. The performers being by this time completely exhausted, were endowed with fresh strength by Narayan; and after the movement had been for some time continued under his direction, "there arose from out the troubled deep, first the moon, with a pleasing countenance, shining with ten thousand beams of gentle light; then Soora Devee, the

goddess of wine, and the white horse called Oochisrava." Other similar apparitions followed, till at length the Dew Dhanwantaree, in human shape, came forth, holding in his hand a white vessel filled with the immortal juice Amreeta.

The successful termination of this grand experiment was not immediately attended with the happy effects that had been anticipated. A combat on the most immense scale took place between the Soors and Asoors. The imagery employed to describe it is certainly not without grandeur, though tinctured with bombast and exaggeration. "Millions of sighs and groans arise on every side, and the sun is overcast with blood, as they clash their arms, and wound each other with their dreadful instruments of destruction. Now the dauntless Asoors strive with repeated strength to crush the Soors with rocks and mountains, which, whirled in vast numbers into the heavens, appeared like scattered clouds, and fell with all the trees thereon in millions of fear-exciting torrents, striking violently against each other with a mighty noise; and in their fall the earth, with all its fields and forests, is driven from its foundation. They thunder furiously at each other as they roll along the field, and spend their strength in mutual conflict." Victory at length declared in favour of the benevolent powers, and Narayan was intrusted with the Amreeta, to be preserved for the use of the immortals.

Vishnu, in his fourth appearance as half-man, half-lion, subdued a band of giants who had conquered the earth, and even dethroned Indra, the king of heaven. His fifth descent was to vanquish Bali, an earthly king, who, by the mysterious sacrifice of a hundred horses, had acquired supernatural powers, and threatened the conquest of the celestial regions. But the manner in which the deity is made to effect this grand object is silly in the extreme. He appeared as a Bramin of very diminutive stature, and sought merely the gift of so much ground as he could pass over in three steps. Having

received this small boon, he suddenly resumed his natural dimensions, placed one foot on heaven, and another on earth; a third then projected from his belly, for which Bali being unable to furnish a place was obliged to atone for this failure by descending to the world beneath.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth avatars were in the characters of Parasu Rama, Rama, and Bala Rama, to deliver the world from successive monsters and giants. His exploits, as the second of these personages, furnish the subject of the celebrated sacred epic called the Ramayana. But the transmutation upon which the Hindoo writers most fondly dwell, is that into their favourite Krishna, who has already been alluded to as a powerful sovereign and formidable warrior. Tradition represents him as having passed his youthful days in a pastoral retirement, and the extravagant fancy of the poets caught hold of this simple legend. They exhibit him at this period as the lover of sixteen thousand milkmaids; to gain whose favour he converted himself into an equal number cf sighing swains, while each fond maiden fancied herself the sole object of his tenderness. Under this character, much more than by those warlike attributes which enabled him to vanquish the giant Kungsu, this deity has acquired numerous and devoted worshippers, and become the chief theme of lyric and amorous poetry among the Hindoos.

In the ninth avatar, Vishnu assumed the form of Boodh, the author of a rival creed, distinct from that of Brama, but which, notwithstanding, by this incarnation was admitted into a certain alliance with it. More will be said hereafter on this subject. The tenth avatar, when Vishnu will descend mounted on a white horse, and armed with a scimitar, to root out evil from the earth, is as yet only the object of fond expectation.

Siva, the third member of the Hindoo triad, is represented as passing through an equal variety of adventures, most of them in the highest degree strange and unnatural; but he does not appear under so many characters, nor

are his exploits on the whole so striking. Although the Destroyer be his proper appellation, it seems more applicable to Doorga, his female partner, whose aspect and deeds do indeed combine whatever is most awful and terrific. He is represented as being of a silver colour, exhibiting various shapes, having sometimes five faces, sometimes only one with three eyes. Elsewhere he is seen naked, riding on a bull, with serpents hanging from his ears like jewels. Worship is rendered to him by numerous votaries, who exalt him as the supreme Deity, greater and more ancient than either Brama or Vishnu. He is peculiarly revered in the mountain territory; and, under the appellation of Mahadeo, is described as throned in the most inaccessible precipices of the Himmalehs. But the chief disgrace of his religion consists in the lingam, a symbol resembling the phallus of the ancients, which is not only displayed in the temples, but worn round the neck of all his votaries. Yet it is remarkable that these sectaries make a boast of leading more pure and even austere lives than the generality of oriental devotees.

Doorga is the chief among the female deities, and indeed the most potent and warlike member of the Hindoo pantheon. The Greeks had Minerva, an armed and martial goddess, whose prowess equalled that of their greatest male divinities; but she was a meek and pacific maiden when compared with the spouse of the Indian Destroyer. The wars waged by the latter, and the giants who fell beneath the might of her arm, form prominent themes in the wild records of eastern mythology. Her original name was Parvati; but hearing that a giant named Doorga had enslaved the gods, she resolved to destroy him. He is said to have led into the field a hundred millions of chariots and one hundred and twenty millions of elephants. In order to meet this overwhelming force, she caused nine millions of warriors, and a corresponding supply of weapons, to issue out of her own substance. The contest, however, was ultimately

decided by her personal struggle with the giant, whose destruction she then succeeded in effecting; and in honour of this achievement, the gods conferred upon their deliverer the name of the huge enemy whom she had overcome.

Doorga has equalled Vishnu in the variety of shapes into which she has multiplied herself, and of names by which she has been distinguished. The most remarkable being with whom she has shared her identity is Cali, or Kalee, who under her own name is a principal object of Hindoo adoration. Every fierce characteristic of her original is in Kalee heightened and carried to the extreme. She is black, with four arms, wearing two dead bodies as ear-rings, a necklace of skulls, and the hands of several slaughtered giants round her waist as a girdle. Her eyebrows and breast appear streaming with the blood of monsters whom she has slain and devoured. Yet India has no divinity more popular, nor one on whose shrine more lavish gifts are bestowed. Not content, as the male deities generally are, with the simple offerings of rice, fruit, vegetables, and milk, she must see her altars flow with the blood of goats and other animals. The ancient books contain directions for the performance even of human sacrifices to this cruel goddess. Hence the bands of robbers by whom Bengal is infested hold Kalee in peculiar honour, looking specially to her for protection and aid, and invoking, by dark incantations, her blessing on their unhallowed exploits.

Next to the great Triad rank the inhabitants of the Swerga or superior mansion, commonly translated heaven. This region is exceedingly populous, being estimated to contain 333,000,000 of beings. Only a few, however, are classed as "the gods," or presiding divinities. They are numbered by Mr Kennedy at eleven, but Mr Wilson considers twenty-five as entitled to this dignity. Their chief is Indra, presiding over the elements, and invested with the lofty title of King of

The God Kartikeya.

Heaven, yet he is not destined to reign for ever; he has even, by the efforts of men and giants, been already repeatedly driven from his station. Kartikeya, the god of war, riding on a peacock, with six heads and twelve hands, in which numerous weapons are brandished, presents a striking specimen of the fantastic forms in which Hindoo superstition invests its deities. Ganesa, a fat personage with the head of an elephant, is so revered that nothing must be begun without an invocation to him, whether it be an act of religious worship, opening a book, setting out on a journey, or even sitting down to write a letter. Surya is the deified sun; Pavana is the god of the winds; Agnee, of fire; Varuna, of the waters. Kuvera is revered and courted as the god of riches; Ashwinair presides over the Aswins or great physicians. Yama, the Indian Pluto, pronounces sentence on the dead; his judgment-seat, however, is not beneath the earth, but in its southern extremity, at a place called Yamalaya. A large share of homage is attracted to him by the mingled influence of fear and hope. Lakshmi, named also Shri or Sri, is the goddess of plenty and of beauty, thus uniting the characters of Venus and of Ceres. Saraswati is the patroness of learning, and dis-

tinguished by her virtues. The Gandharvas or divine songsters, and the Apsaras or dancers, delight the immortals by their exquisite beauty and superior performance in their respective arts; but the reputation of the latter especially is in other respects extremely equivocal.

Hindoo mythology presents another and opposite order of beings, the Asuras or Daityas, a race huge, shapeless, fierce, and mighty. Their constant object is to storm the celestial regions, drive out the gods, and occupy their place. They have not been wholly unsuccessful, but have obtained temporary possession both of the Swerga and the Brahmaloka, whence they have been ejected almost solely by the exertions of the great female divinities. Through the prowess of these damsels they are now confined to gloomy regions beneath the earth; yet it is still their ceaseless aim, rushing up through the caverns of the Himmaleh, to renew the dreadful contest. The giants are a kindred race almost equally powerful, having their abode on earth, and subject to death, yet endued with such strength that their conquest forms often the glory of heroes and even of divinities.

Among a superstitious people, it is not wonderful that the grand objects of nature should be personified, and excite a feeling of devout veneration. Great rivers, from their mysterious sources, their broad expanse, and their unceasing motion, tend to inspire ideas peculiarly solemn. They are accordingly very favourite objects of Hindoo worship. There is scarcely in heaven or earth a name more sacred than Ganges. Its waters are said to descend from above, and to purify from every stain the man who undergoes in them a thorough ablution. To die on its banks, moistened by its stream, is deemed a sure passport to paradise. Journeys extending to thousands of miles are undertaken for the purpose of beholding and bathing in its sacred current. Many rash devotees even yield themselves to a voluntary death amid its waves, fancying that they shall thereby secure complete felicity in the future world; others devote their offspring

to a similar destiny. In the courts of Bengal a portion of its water is produced, upon which witnesses are solemnly required to make oath,—this form of attestation being esteemed of all others the most binding, though some persons scruple to employ an object so holy for this secular purpose. The Nerbudda, the Godavery, the Kistna, the Cavery, and almost every stream that rolls through this vast region, have likewise a sacred character, though none in so eminent a degree as the Ganges.

Mountains, from the grandeur of their aspect, have always attracted veneration from a superstitious people. The Himmaleh, owing to its unequalled loftiness, has produced an extraordinary impression on the Hindoo mind. It is held almost as sacred as heaven itself, being the frequent resort of the gods, and the constant abode of the Rishis or saints, men who by pious observances have raised themselves above their earthly nature and acquired power even over the divinities. Its principal peaks, Meru, Rudra, and Uttarakuru, have all holy legends attached to them.

The Hindoo is also much addicted to a worship which indicates the lowest degradation of the human mind,—that of the brute creation; and his most exalted deities, the creators and preservers of the world, scarcely command a reverence equal to that bestowed on the cow. This animal is saluted with every expression of profound affection and veneration: she is called the mother of the gods and of three worlds. The highest deities are humbly entreated to appear under the form of milch kine, as that in which they will be most grateful and serviceable to their votaries. Even their dung is thought to confer a holy character upon every object on which it is smeared. Two great Indian princes, the Rajah of Travancore and the Peishwa Ragoba, being each enclosed in the body of a golden cow and then drawn out, were regarded as having experienced a new birth; the statue was immediately cut in pieces and distributed among the Bramins. In their treaties with the British, the native princes on some occasions urged most earnestly,

that the soldiers should not be permitted to kill a cow within the precincts of their territory.

The monkey also ranks high among the objects of their worship. The exploits of Hanuman, with his innumerable host of sportive brethren, are among the most conspicuous incidents in the Ramayana. Princes and other great men often indulge in the strange freak of celebrating with pomp and profusion the marriage of monkeys. On this occasion the animal, like a mighty chief, is seated in a palanquin, and followed by a train of singing and dancing girls, amid the display of fireworks. Garoora, the king of birds, is another object of veneration, though not equally distinguished.

Serpents, though not actually worshipped, attract a very high degree of reverence. They constitute a sort of intermediate link between gods and men, being placed in the order of creation above the latter. Ananta, the great serpent with a thousand heads, forms the symbol of eternity, and was one of the chief instruments in the churning of the ocean. To call a young lady a she-serpent, is nearly as high a compliment as with us to call her an angel.

The ideas of man respecting an invisible world and a future state of retribution form a most important element in his religious belief. On this subject the sentiments of devout Hindoos are often profound, overcoming in some instances the love of life, and impelling them to strange modes of suicide.

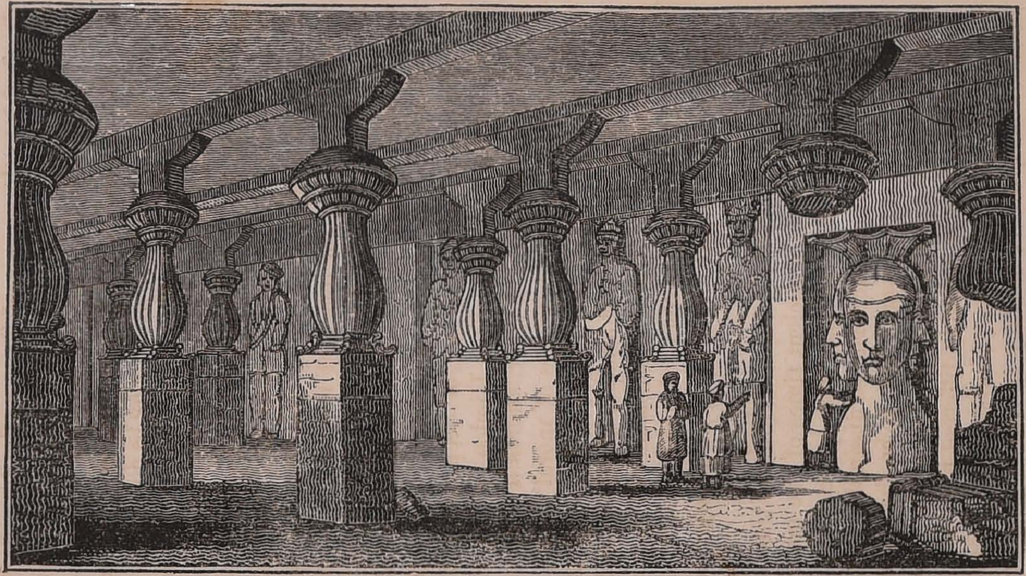
But their creed derives its peculiar character from the tenet, so generally diffused throughout the East, respecting the transmigration of souls. According to this belief, the spirit of man after death is not conveyed into a different state of existence, but goes to animate some other mortal body, or even one belonging to the brute creation. The receptacle into which it then enters is decided by the course of action followed during the previous life. Hence the virtuous man may rise from an humble caste to the rank of a prince or even of a Bramin, while the depraved not only sink into degra-

dation as human beings, but even have their souls enclosed in the bodies of animals. With this view the Hindoo oracles endeavour to establish a certain conformity between the offences committed and the condition under which they are expiated. The thief is converted into some animal addicted to steal the articles which were the wonted objects of his own depredation. The pilferer of grain is metamorphosed into a rat; while he who stole roots or fruit becomes an ape; and the person thus lowered in the scale of being, must pass through a long succession of degraded births ere he can reassume the human form and endowments. This belief is so familiar to the native of India that his conversation is filled with allusions to it. If he see any one suffering under evils that seem unmerited, he at once pronounces them the penalty of sin committed in a previous stage and form of existence. Even on seeing a cow or dog receive a severe beating, he infers that the soul which animates them must, under its human shape, have committed some offence worthy of such castigation. Wives, who consider themselves injuriously treated by their husbands, or servants by their masters, indulge the earnest hope that in some future state of being they shall exchange conditions, and obtain the opportunity of a signal retaliation.

This doctrine, which might seem to confine human souls to this earthly sphere, does not however exclude the belief, that in many instances they are conveyed to a heaven or a hell. These places of reward and punishment are minutely described, and set forth with that studied adaptation to merits and offences, which makes a striking part of the Hindoo system. There are celestial mansions, variously graduated, to be reached only by Bramins or persons of high attainments, or for performing works of extraordinary sanctity. These bear much resemblance to the paradise of Mohammed, being scenes of voluptuous enjoyment perfumed by sweet flowers, fanned by the softest breezes, glittering with gold and gems, enlivened by the song, the dance, and

the society of beautiful damsels. But some ardent devotees aspire to a still loftier destiny. They hope to be absorbed into the essence of Bram or the Supreme Mind, where they shall repose for ever on an unruffled sea of bliss. Hell is in like manner composed of many compartments, corresponding to the various iniquities, on account of which erring mortals may be doomed to enter its dismal precincts. The unmerciful are to be tormented by snakes ; the drunkard is to be thrown into pans of liquid fire ; the despiser of a Bramin is to stick fast in the mud with his head downwards ; the inhospitable to have his eyes torn out by vultures ; the seducer to be embraced by an image of redhot iron. Some of these abodes are covered with darkness, others filled with boiling oil or burning copper ; one is crowded with animals and reptiles, another planted thick with thorns. The ground is here composed of deep mire, there it bristles with needles. Thus the Hindoo system, though in a somewhat fanciful manner, affords a certain sanction to all the various branches of moral duty. Still, the bestowing of gifts upon Bramins, the observance of certain ceremonies, the performance of a long and difficult penance, are believed to constitute the higher degrees of merit ; atoning even of themselves for the most enormous sins, and ensuring an endless enjoyment of felicity.

The temples erected for the celebration of this worship appear to have been in ancient times of the most costly and magnificent description. The more early structures bear also a peculiar form, so dissimilar to those of modern date, that they would seem to be the monuments of some mighty people who no longer exist. The most remarkable are those found in different parts of the Deccan, not consisting of masonry, but excavated in the sides of mountains, which, in many instances, have been entirely cut out into columns, temples, and images. The most celebrated, perhaps from having first attracted observation, is Elephanta, termed by Mr Maurice "the wonder of Asia." It is situated about half-way up the



The Grand Cavern Pagoda of Elephanta.

declivity of a hill, in a small wooded island near Bombay. Three entrances are afforded between four rows of massive columns, and the principal one is 220 feet long by 150 broad. The most conspicuous object, placed in the centre, is a triple head of colossal dimensions, being six feet from the chin to the crown. It was long supposed to represent the Hindoo triad; but is now believed to be simply a figure of Siva, to whom this temple is dedicated, and with whose images it is filled. On the neighbouring and larger island are the cave-temples of Kenneri, less spacious, but more lofty, and equally rich in sculptures. A whole hill was here formed into an excavated city, with tanks, stairs, and every accommodation for a large population; but all is now deserted and silent. The great cave of Carli on the opposite coast is similar to those of Kenneri, but still more spacious and elegant. Again, near the ancient city of Deoghir and the modern Dowlatabad are the wondrous structures of Ellora. Here a lofty hill is completely cut out into a range of temples, and its surface covered with varied sculpture and ornaments. "The first view," says Mr Erskine, "of this desolate religious city is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish but distract the mind. The empire, whose pride they must have been, has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it."

We may likewise notice Mahabalipoor, known also by the name of the Seven Pagodas, situated about thirty-five miles south of Madras. The term signifies the city of the Great Bali, and the sculptures refer chiefly to the exploits of that deified hero, as well as to those of Krishna, Arjoona, and other actors in the war celebrated in the Mahabarat. While the structures in the west of India are dedicated almost exclusively to Siva, this is sacred to Vishnu, of whom, in the principal temple, there appears

a colossal image sleeping on an enormous hooded snake. These monuments are not on the same gigantic scale as those at Elephanta and Kenneri; but many of them are said to be very beautifully executed. Tradition and some remains attest the existence of a great capital near this site; but at present it is inhabited only by a few Bramins living in huts, who obtain a subsistence by exhibiting the ruins.

The pyramidal temples called pagodas are numerous in the south of India; but in grandeur and beauty they are all eclipsed by that of Tanjore, a city long celebrated as the most learned and opulent in that part of the Peninsula. It is 200 feet high, and the interior contains the figure of a bull in black granite, the dignified object to whose honour it appears to have been dedicated. Lord Valentia was not allowed to enter the precincts of the sacred edifice; but from the door he obtained a view of this revered animal, which appeared to him to present rather a favourable specimen of Hindoo sculpture.

The Jains have ancient temples in Rajpootana, which may vie with the most splendid of those erected by the disciples of Brama or Boodh. One of these, built within the fortress of Kumulner, is marked by a fine style of simple and classical elegance, its form bearing even a close analogy to the temple of Theseus at Athens. Hence Colonel Tod has been induced to entertain the conjecture that it may have been designed by Grecian architects, at an era when the kingdom of Bactriana, under Greek sovereigns, held sway over a great part of India. Another fane, of a style decidedly oriental, in the fortress of Ajmere, is one of the most perfect as well as most ancient monuments of Hindoo architecture. The façade is covered with Arabic inscriptions; but the author just named thought he discovered under these the traces of Sanscrit characters, and conceives the design to have been originally Indian, but worked over by the less skilful hand of a Mussulman architect.

In the vicinity of Kotah, a Rajpoot territory bordering on Malwa, Colonel Tod discovered, and has de-

scribed in his second volume, some very splendid structures. The temple at Barolli is remarkable, not for its dimensions, for it does not exceed fifty-eight feet in height, but for the profusion of sculpture with which its surface is covered; so that every stone is considered as forming a miniature building. Notwithstanding a very high antiquity, it is still in wonderful preservation, owing to the close-grained quartz rock of which it is constructed, and to a fine marble cement carefully spread over it. He considers the sculptured figures as completely redeeming the character of ancient Hindoo art; being marked by a peculiarly easy and flowing style, and presenting some heads that would not disgrace Canova. The temple is dedicated entirely to Siva, of whom and of his warlike consort the gateway presents two remarkably fine statues.

In the same territory occur the temples of Chandravati, the remains of the ancient city of Patun, the position of which is now occupied by the recently erected and flourishing town of Jhalra-patun. In the days of its glory Patun was adorned by 108 shrines, of which only two or three imperfect specimens remain. They are covered with the same profusion of chiselled and sculptured ornaments as those at Barolli. But the statues are far inferior, and, being considerably more modern, mark a gradual decay in the art. They are, however, much superior to the works executed in the present day, when it is made a reproach that the Hindoo chisel can produce nothing but deformity. The rich and varied architectural ornaments, carved upon the gateways, columns, ceilings, and every part of the edifices, appear to be such as no artist in Europe could surpass. These structures have suffered much dilapidation by being used as quarries for the construction of the modern town, into whose walls thousands of sculptured divinities have been inserted.

The temples of Ganga-bheva, not far distant from Barolli, display similar art and beauty, though inferior and more modern, since a date corresponding to 955 A. D. is found

on the pavement. They are chiefly distinguished by the deep forest with which they are now surrounded, and the disappearance of every trace of human habitation. "The tiger and wild boar are the only inhabitants that visit the groves of Ganga-bheva." Several gigantic trees have penetrated and rent the walls; one of them has large slabs encased in its wood, and its bark covers a whole regiment of petty gods. The cave-temples of Dhoomnar, though extensive, do not equal those of Elephanta and Carli. They are chiefly remarkable for the mixture of the Jain worship with that of Siva. Mynal in Mewar presents a most striking scene, both from its architectural beauty and the peculiarity of its situation, which is on the brink of a precipice overhanging the river and at the entrance of a huge chasm or dell, 400 feet in depth, "within which it would be death to enter," crowded with luxuriant foliage, and peopled with all the tenants of the Indian forest.

The Hindoo temples of the present day, we have already remarked, do not display a grandeur in any degree commensurate with those of former times. Many contain only a single apartment, and may be built for about twenty-five pounds; few have more than three or four rooms. The grand ceremonies to which multitudes crowd are all celebrated in an open area fronting the gates; so that nothing is wanted within but space for the images, and accommodation for one or two attendants. These idols are composed of every possible material and of a great variety of dimensions, from gold downwards to wood and clay, and from a stature of twenty-one cubits to figures weighing one or two ounces. In their form no display is made of the art of the sculptor; they are fashioned by the smith, the potter, or any other tradesman who works in the substance out of which the god is to be fabricated. Before acquiring, however, the character of sacred objects, various offerings, mysterious touches, and incantations, must be performed by a Bramin, through whose operation they are at last supposed to receive eyes and a soul, and to become the living abode of the deity

whom they represent. Those of clay are usually modelled by the worshippers themselves, merely to serve the purposes of a particular festival; the ceremonies of which are closed by casting them into the rivers.

The worship and services paid to the Hindoo deities are, generally speaking, irrational, unmeaning, and often immoral. Rammohun Roy pathetically laments the obstinate adherence of his countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, as inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling, dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of their nearest relations,—consisting chiefly in a peculiar diet, the least deviation from which shuts out from family and friends, while murder, theft, or perjury, involve no disgrace. "My reflection," says he, "on these solemn subjects, has been most painful." No provision is made for instructing the body of the people in the duties of life, or even in what is supposed to be divine truth, but consist merely in acts of blind and senseless adulation to popular divinities. Every image, when lodged in its temple, has a mechanical round of daily homage performed before it, and is furnished with a regular allowance of food, which, after remaining a certain time, is removed and applied to the use of the attendants. On the great annual festivals these offerings are profusely lavished; while the multitudes assembled in front of the temples indulge in indecent songs and extravagant motions. Mr Ward enumerates the various articles of maintenance bestowed upon Kalee in her temple at Kaleeghata, among which are 12,000 goats, 240 tons of rice, 48 cwt. of sugar, 264 cwt. of sweetmeats, and considers them as worth £9000 annually. Besides the public solemnities the devotee has a daily service to perform, explained at great length by Mr Colebrooke and Mr Ward, but of which we cannot undertake to give even an outline. Fulsome praises addressed to some chosen deity, frequently the repetition of his name for hours together, constitute the favourite occupation of the worshipper.

Among the religious duties of the Hindoo, begging holds a conspicuous place. It is incumbent on all who aim at distinguished holiness to make mendicity the only source of their subsistence; and deep is the degradation of a devotee of high class, when obliged to betake himself for support to an honest trade. The extensive prevalence of the same idea in the Romish church, where the mendicant orders enjoyed such reputation, shows it to have a foundation in human nature; but it is nowhere carried to so preposterous an extent as in Hindostan. Mr Ward hesitates not to affirm, that an eighth part of the inhabitants of Bengal and Bahar subsist in this manner. Thus they form a begging population of upwards of two millions; and the alms received by them, supposing each to obtain only a rupee a-month, will amount to three millions sterling; a sum annually extracted from the labouring classes, who in general are extremely poor.

Devout pilgrimages are in like manner performed in India to a very great extent. All the principal roads are crowded with people hastening to the sacred shrines and waters. The most celebrated temple for this purpose is that of Jagannatha or Juggernaut, in Orissa, which is also frequented by vast crowds to witness the impious rites there celebrated. Another grand object of attraction is found on the banks of the Ganges, particularly at the prayagas, or junctions with its tributary streams. The influx of the Jumna renders Allahabad one of the chief among holy cities, and to bathe at the point of confluence atones for almost all the deadly sins. Still higher value is attached to those meetings of the waters that take place in its upper course, amid the grandeur of mountain scenery. Hurdwar, where the Bagiruttee and Alacananda unite in forming the Ganges, attracts at a particular season sometimes two millions and a half of pilgrims from the remotest provinces. About 45,000 or 50,000 adventurous devotees scale the tremendous cliffs of the Himmalehs, till they reach the shrine of Bhadrinath, and some even ascend to that of

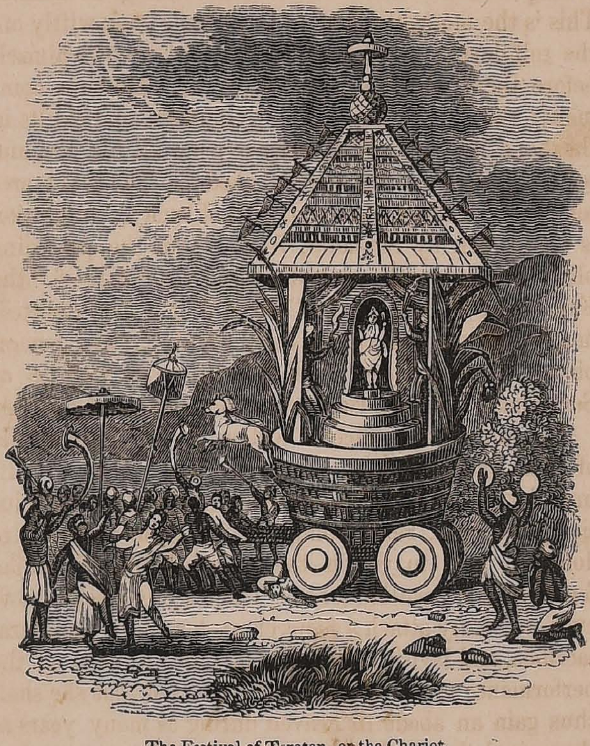
Gangoutri, where the holy river is seen bursting from beneath the eternal snows. Many, however, in making their way along icy declivities, and by the side of rugged precipices and roaring torrents, either perish or lose partially the use of their limbs. Yet a very few proceed still farther, and penetrate the passes of the central range till they come in view of the spacious lake of Manasawara, overhung by the snowy cliffs of Caillas. Once to have beheld these sacred waters is considered by the devout as a peculiar felicity.

Penance and self-torture are regarded as essential to the attainment of a character for holiness. Not only do devotees boast of renouncing all the decencies and pleasures of life, with all the charms of social intercourse, but they rack their invention to contrive the most intense sufferings. The yogues or fakirs live in the depth of forests, either absolutely naked or having their bodies smeared with ashes and cow-dung, their nails grown to the dimension of huge claws, and their beards reaching to an immeasurable length. It is their pride to expose themselves to the tempest when it beats with its utmost fury, and to the sun when darting its intensest rays; above all, to remain fixed for long periods in constrained and fantastic attitudes. Some hold their hands above their heads till they cannot bring them down again; others clench their fists till the nails penetrate the palm; and a third class turn their faces towards the sun till they cannot regain their natural position. A certain traveller, who left one of them thus stationed, was astonished on returning to India, sixteen years after, to find him in the very same posture. There are even persons who dig a living grave, and remain buried in the earth, with only an aperture for the admission of light and food. It is chiefly by means of such preposterous modes of self-torture that absorption into the essence of Bram or the Supreme Mind, the highest aim of every Hindoo saint, is held to be attainable.

These absurd austerities were remarked principally by the earlier travellers, and are said to have now become

comparatively rare. Yet Mr Ward, in the year 1806, when visiting the sacred island of Saugor, saw several instances of this irrational devotion. He mentions also an account given by a European gentleman, who in the neighbourhood of Calcutta perceived something of human shape in a hole in the earth; but unable to believe that it was a man, beat it till blood flowed, without being able to excite any movement beyond what might have been expected from a log of wood. These yogues, too, are not humble penitents, but proud ascetics. They are impressed with the belief, that the practice of these unnatural severities leads directly to the possession of divine and supernatural powers. Native books of the highest authority relate stories of impious men, nay of asoors or demons, who by such means have obtained an empire over nature, and even over the gods. There was it appears a band of giants, who by suspending themselves with their heads downwards over a slow fire for eight hundred years, and tearing the flesh from the bones, became so mighty, and caused such an alarm throughout the Hindoo heaven, that the battle in which Doorga vanquished them ranks among the most distinguished exploits of that terrible divinity. Another doctrine of this strange creed teaches, that the immortals, instead of viewing with satisfaction these acts of devotion, are struck with alarm, lest the performers should thereby arrive at a power dangerous to the stability of the celestial dominion. They do not therefore scruple to employ means for seducing them into such sensual indulgences as may cause them to relinquish these lofty pretensions.

Indian superstition assumes a still darker form, in prompting to religious suicide; and various are the modes in which its blinded votaries consign themselves to death. One of the most common is exhibited at the procession of their idol cars, particularly at the festival of Juggernaut, when the precincts of the temple are crowded by vast multitudes of pilgrims from the remotest quarters, many of whom perish through fatigue and want of



The Festival of Teroton, or the Chariot.

accommodation. The car is a lofty ornamented structure, in which are seated representations of the god, and of Bala Rama and Soobhadra, said to be his brother and sister. Large cables are attached to the vehicle, which the multitude eagerly grasp, and drag it along in triumph amid the shouts of surrounding thousands. This is the moment when, as the wheels pass swiftly on, the self-devoted victim rushes forward, throws himself before them, and is crushed to death. He thus commands the admiration of the bystanders, and exults in the hope that he will thereby expiate all his sins, and secure a passage to the celestial abodes. The best representation which we have met with of such an exhibition is that given by Sonnerat, from whom the preceding plate is copied. He presents it under the title of "the Festival of Teroton, or the Chariot;" it is here inserted, not as specially applying to Juggernaut, but as a general picture of the scene exhibited there as well as at Seringham, Chillumbrum, and other celebrated pagodas.

The *suttee*, or sacrifice of widows on the funeral-pile of their husbands, is another well-known form of self-immolation. The practice does not appear to be exclusively religious, being connected with the tenderest of domestic ties, to which the secluded life of Indian females adds peculiar force. Their sacred books, however, decidedly attach a pious character to this unnatural sacrifice, and lavish promises of divine blessings on the performance of it. The widow is assured that she shall thus gain an abode in heaven during as many years as there are hairs on the human head, which are stated at thirty-five millions; that her husband, also, though sunk in the depths of hell, will be drawn up to the same happy region, and the sins of both entirely wiped away. The deluded female who acts her part well proceeds gaily to the spot in her finest attire, and decked in her most precious jewels and ornaments. On her arrival she calmly and courteously addresses her surrounding friends, and distributes among them various articles of value. Mandelslo, the traveller, when present only as a

spectator, had a bracelet thrown to him by the lady, which he kept ever after as a memorial of the scene. Often, however, when the dreadful moment approaches, she shrinks from the performance of her rash vow, gives way to cries and despair, and even refuses to ascend the pile; but the relations, considering the honour of their family as implicated, employ every species of urgency and even compulsion to induce her to complete the sacrifice. A scene peculiarly distressing used to occur at the death of those opulent Hindoos who had carried polygamy to a great extent, when twelve, fifteen, or eighteen wives were known to have perished on the same pile. Ward mentions a case in which the fire was kept burning three days; and during that time thirty-seven widows of one Bramin came in parties at different times and threw themselves into the flames. But perhaps the deepest of these tragedies ever acted in India was on occasion of the untimely death of Ajit, one of the most distinguished princes of Marwar, described by Colonel Tod in his second volume. Fifty-eight queens, "the curtain wives of affection," determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni, exclaiming, "The world we will abandon, but never our lord!" They went "radiant as the sun, dispensing charity like falling rain," and threw themselves together on one mighty pile, which soon blazed to the skies, and, according to the Hindoo writers, "the faithful queens laved their bodies in the flames, as do the celestials in the lake of Manasawara." It is painful to peruse the expressions of applause and veneration in which their conduct is mentioned, and of the honour it is supposed to confer both on themselves and their deceased spouse. What renders this practice still more revolting, is the fact that the son is made the instrument of his mother's death, the ceremonial requiring that his hand should apply the fire to the pile. We shall afterwards have occasion to mention the steps taken by the British government for suppressing this frightful superstition.

Another deplorable result of false religion in India was

infanticide; and it was to the Ganges chiefly that this barbarous sacrifice was performed. Not unfrequently, in cases of barrenness, a married pair bound themselves, if blessed with offspring, to doom their first-born to the divinity of the river. Having allowed the child to reach the age of three or four, they led him into the water beyond his depth, and left him to float down the stream. Perhaps some charitable hand might pick him up; but by his parents, at least, he was never more recognised. Other infants were placed in baskets and hung up on trees, where they were devoured by ants or birds of prey. The British authorities, however, have now strictly prohibited this criminal practice. The very frequent destruction of female infants among the Rajpoot tribes in the west is imputed by Mr Ward to superstition; but Colonel Tod and Sir John Malcolm, who had much better information concerning this quarter of India, are convinced that it arises altogether from the foolish pride of birth, and the difficulty of suitably disposing of daughters in marriage. There are other modes by which individuals seek a voluntary death, as by plunging into the Ganges, particularly at the point of its junction with the Jumna, and by exposing themselves to be devoured by tigers on the island of Saugor, or other spots near the mouth of that sacred river.

While over all India the same deities are worshipped, and the same books held sacred, there is still found scope for the love of novelty and the propensity natural to mankind to separate into sects; each party esteeming themselves wiser and holier than the rest of the world. Mr Wilson even considers the successive books of the Vedas, the Puranas, and the Mahabarat, as constituting really new systems, since, amid the veneration expressed for the ancient doctrines and modes of worship, they introduce others essentially different. Zealots in general select some particular deity, of whom, in preference to all others, they profess themselves the votaries. Brama, as already observed, notwithstanding his supremacy in the Hindoo pantheon, does not stand at the head of any

sect. Vishnu and Siva, the two powers next to him, divide in a great measure the worship of Indian devotees. The writer just named reckons that among forty-three leading denominations, twenty attach themselves to Vishnu, nine to Siva, four to his wife Doorga under the name of Saktas, while ten select inferior objects of adoration. The zealous adherents of the rival sects of Vishnuvites and Sivites, addicting themselves, according to Indian usage, to pilgrimage and mendicity, rove throughout the country in large bands, having a great resemblance to sturdy beggars. These sectaries, exalting to an extraordinary degree the object of their own special homage, view one another with great antipathy, and often engage in violent contention. The symbols and creed of each are on such occasions held up by their opponents to odium and derision. When they meet at Hurdwar, or any other place of religious resort, the collision becomes formidable, and often ends in bloodshed.

But the most important schism is that between the disciples of Brama and the adherents of Boodh. The latter have objects of worship, a creed, ceremonies, and institutions entirely peculiar. They are even stigmatized as atheists, not yielding divine honours to any great First Cause, but solely to deified mortals. The priests of this order reside in spacious convents, where they devote themselves to celibacy and other observances so closely allied to the Romish Church, that the less enlightened missionaries of the latter faith have been induced to believe the two religions to be the same. The Boodhists erect temples much larger and more magnificent, and images of more gigantic dimensions, than the worshippers of Brama. But the most remarkable feature in this belief is its local situation, from which attempts have been made to deduce its origin and history. There was evidently a time when it prevailed extensively throughout India; and several great dynasties, particularly of Magadha, were Boodhist. But now almost every trace of it has been obliterated from Hindos-

tan, while it rules in all the neighbouring countries to the east and north, and has overspread nearly the whole extent of Eastern Asia. It is fully established in Thibet, Bootan, Birmah, Siam, and Ceylon: it is supposed to be the same with that of Fo, which is prevalent in China, and with that of Shamanism, which is diffused through the wide regions of Tartary. From these facts Mr Joinville and other writers deduce the inference, that this creed was once held by a large proportion of the people of Hindostan; that a bloody war, imbittered by a furious persecution, was waged between them and the votaries of Brama; and that the latter were completely victorious, when the followers of Boodh being expelled sought refuge in all the surrounding states, where they succeeded in establishing their faith. We cannot but consider this opinion as somewhat conjectural; and it must appear singular that there should not remain any record of the wars and persecution which are here supposed to have taken place. However, the two religions cannot have had an origin remote from each other, since, as we learn from Dr Leyden, the Pali, or sacred language of the Boodhist Birmahs, is only a dialect of the Sanscrit.

But as Boodhism is no longer professed in India, we are not called upon to explain its doctrines. Its moral precepts appear fully more pure and efficacious than the Braminical. The doctrine of transmigration is still more deeply rooted in it, being particularly cherished by the followers of the Grand Lama or priest-sovereign of Thibet, whose soul, when it quits this earthly abode, is supposed instantly to animate the frame of an infant, and thereby to perpetuate his own identity.

The Jains, or Joinas, are a sect very numerous in Western Hindostan; and they combine in some measure the practice and doctrine of the two rival systems of Brama and Boodh. In accordance with the former, they have four castes, while their ceremonies, as well as their order of priesthood, are very similar; and they agree also with the Boodhists in various tenets, parti-

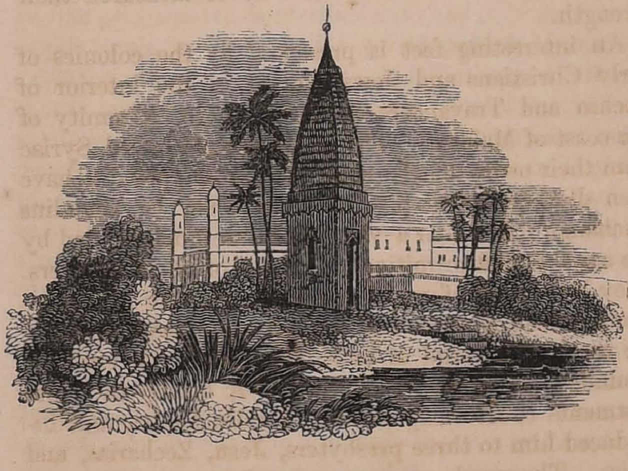
cularly in worshipping only deified heroes. They have very splendid temples, with images of more gigantic size than are now made by other Hindoos. One of these, called Gomut Iswara, is eighteen times the height of a man; while a tradition is preserved of another five hundred times as large, consisting of pure gold, but which is now sunk in the bottom of the sea. It has been supposed that the Jains were originally pure Boodhists; but when the Bramins attained the superiority, fear or interest induced them to admit into their system various modifications from that of the triumphant sect.

The Seiks have already been mentioned as having attempted to form an alliance between the two creeds of the Mohammedan and the Hindoo. These sectaries are equally remarkable for their political as their religious principles; and the furious persecutions to which they were once exposed have stamped upon them a peculiarly fierce and vindictive character. As a nation they are now masters of a great part of the territory bordering on the Indus, and form the only state in that part of Asia which is completely independent of the English, with whom they have never measured their strength.

An interesting fact is presented by the colonies of early Christians and Jews formed in the interior of Cochin and Travancore at the southern extremity of the coast of Malabar. The Christians are called Syriac from their using that language, and are supposed to have been disciples of St Thomas. In 1806, Dr Claudius Buchanan paid them a visit, and was much edified by the amiable and primitive simplicity of their manners. They had places of worship whose structure much resembled that of some old English churches, where, by the unwonted sound of bells, the visiter was strongly reminded of his native country. A bishop in white vestments courteously received Dr Buchanan, and introduced him to three presbyters, Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias. The people were poor; but the general diffusion of intelligence, and the liberty allowed to the female

sex, with the propriety of their demeanour, suggested the idea of a Protestant country. They had, however, only a few copies of the Bible, and those in manuscript. Mr Wredé says their number is computed to amount to 150,000; but Mr Baber, in his late evidence before Parliament, estimates them at only 100,000, and adds that they are the best subjects their princes have.

The Jews are divided into two colonies, the white and the black, whose establishment appears to have taken place at different eras. The former report themselves to have arrived soon after the destruction of Jerusalem; while the latter, from their complexion and appearance, are supposed to have settled at a much earlier period. They had ancient Hebrew manuscripts written on goat-skin, one of which Dr Buchanan, with some difficulty, obtained permission to carry away. It was deposited in the university of Cambridge, where it was shown to the present writer by the late Dr Clarke, who stated that, on collation, there appeared little difference between it and our authorized text.



CHAPTER VI.

Hindoo Literature.

Influence of Literature in India—Language—Its Resemblance to the European—Conjectures as to the Cause—Principal Works—The Vedas—Their Character—Specimens—The Puranas—General Subjects — The Brama — Vayu — Vishnu — Specimens—Modern Puranas—Specimens—The Ramayana—Mahabarat—Its general Subject—Various Specimens—The Nine Gems—Kalidasa—The Raghu Vansa—Megha Duta—Jayadeva—The Hindoo Drama—Nature and Structure—Kalidasa—Bhavabhuti—Stories of Common Life—Metaphysics—The Vedanta—Kapila, &c.—Fables—The Pancha Tantra—Rising Taste for English Literature.

Literature in India, though deficient in some important branches, has been cultivated extensively, and by writers of genius, during a long series of ages. Being too the occupation of the most exalted caste, it holds a higher and more prominent place in the social system than in Europe, where rank is usually established on the basis of wealth and political power. This circumstance, it may be suspected, has tended to check its progress, by placing it under authority, and confining it within an exclusive circle. But it has undoubtedly secured for it a more marked distinction in the national mind, and thus renders it deserving of our particular attention.

It will be proper to premise some notice of the language in which the Hindoo writings are composed. The Sanscrit, which is used in all classical compositions, bears a character, not indeed unique, like the Chinese, but yet very remarkable. It has long ceased to be, and perhaps never was, vernacular, unless in the more refined and

intellectual circles; and it is pronounced by all persons competent to form a judgment of it, to be copious, regular, harmonious, and rich in varied inflections. Its alphabet includes the unequalled number of fifty-two letters, thus affording a separate one for various sounds which by Europeans are either expressed by a single character or represented by a combination. Besides the six ordinary cases, it has two peculiar to itself, the locative and causative, indicating place and cause; the latter usually ascribed among us, but with little propriety, to the ablative, of which the proper sense is removal or privation. Like the Greek, it has the dual number in addition to the singular and plural. In conjugation it has not the extreme richness of that fine tongue, though, like it, possessing a middle voice. The radical nouns and verbs are not peculiarly numerous, but they are compounded with a facility which renders the language extremely copious and flexible, with a full harmonious sound, eminently fitting it for verse, in which species of composition it is chiefly employed.

One circumstance deserving of the greatest attention is the close alliance which Sanscrit bears to the languages of Europe, both ancient and modern,—not only to the Greek and Latin, but to the different branches of the Teutonic and Sclavonic. We confess ourselves jealous of etymological theories, which their votaries are extremely apt to push beyond the legitimate limits. But though some of the numerous examples adduced by Colonel Kennedy in his work on the affinity of the languages of Asia and Europe, and by M. Eichhoff in his "Parallèle des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde," may admit of question, a great body of words nevertheless seem to have been derived, either from one language to the others, or to both from some common source. The following are a few specimens, chiefly in one class of terms, and not very studiously selected:—

Asmi, I am; *asi*, thou art; *asti*, he is; *Greek*, emmi,* essi, esti;

* The Greek is given in Roman characters, so as to be understood by common readers.

Latin, sum, es, est; *Lithuanian*, asmi, esse, esti; *German*, in, is, ist; *Gaelic*, isme, istu, ise.
Ad, to eat; *Greek and Latin*, edo; *Lithuanian*, edmi.
Matram, measure; *Greek*, metron; *Latin*, metrum, meta.
Maras, death; *Latin*, mors; *German*, mord; *English*, murder.
Maya, illusion; *Greek*, mageia; *Latin*, magia; *French*, magie; *English*, magic.
Kapalas, skull; *Greek*, kēphalē (head); *Latin*, caput; *German*, kopf.
Nas, nose; *Latin*, nasus; *German*, nase; *Lithuanian*, nosis.
Dat, *dantas*, tooth; *Greek*, ōdon; *Latin*, dens; *German*, zahn; *Lithuanian*, dantis.
Nakhas, nail; *Greek*, onux; *Latin*, unguis; *German*, nagel; *Lithuanian*, nagas.
Pad, *padas*, foot; *Greek*, pous; *Latin*, pes; *German*, fuss; *Lithuanian*, pædas; *French*, pied.
Janus, race; *Greek*, genos; *Latin*, genus; *French*, genre.
Pita, father; *Greek and Latin*, pater; *German*, vater.
Ma, *mata*, mother; *Greek*, mētēr; *Latin*, mater; *German*, mutter.
Putras, son; *Greek*, pais; *Latin*, puer.

It is also very deserving of notice, that the oriental appears to have had a direct communication with the several European languages, and not to have flowed into them by any one channel. Thus, though the Greek contains the largest number of affinities, yet terms which are wanting in that tongue are found in Latin and in the others, as will appear even from the short list just given. Where the word too in Greek and in another language has a common affinity to the Sanscrit, it appears often under such a different aspect as to prove an independent origin. Thus, as above, *pais* and *puer* have both an affinity to the Sanscrit, but scarcely any to each other. The Lithuanian or Sclavonic dialect is distinguished by the peculiar closeness of its resemblances. For example, in the terms *dantis* and *nagas* the connexion is so much closer than in the Greek and Latin as to leave no doubt that it was direct, and not formed circuitously through them. Another singular circumstance is, that while the Persian contains a considerable infusion of Sanscrit terms, though not so copious as some of the western languages, it has a basis fundamentally different. But if the oriental language had travelled to Europe from India it ought to have passed through Persia, and to have

left there a greater number of vocables than in those remoter countries which it ultimately reached.

A theory on this subject, which excited at one time a strong sensation, was proposed by the late Professor Dugald Stewart. He supposed that, in consequence of the expeditions of Alexander and Seleucus and of the establishment of the kingdom of Bactria, which extended for some time over part of India, the learned men of that country framed a language, partly composed of Greek words, and carefully adjusted its refined grammatical construction to the ruder dialect of their own country. This hypothesis, however, which obtained at one period some notice, was constructed by the learned author without any knowledge of the eastern language, and on the information of students, very inferior to those who have since arisen, and by whom, we believe, it is unanimously rejected. The structure of the language, equally original and harmonious, is said to afford no presumption of its having arisen from such a singular and anomalous process. The occupation of India by the Greeks, too, was of short duration, confined to one corner, and enforced in a hostile manner, and therefore very unlikely to have procured for its language so wide-spread and cordial an acceptance. Though the date of the Indian writings cannot be ascertained, there is much reason to infer that some of them are more ancient than the period to which this theory would refer them. Lastly, no explanation is thereby afforded of the prevalence of Sanscrit words in the other European languages, where it exists, as already observed, in forms which preclude the idea of their being derived through the Greek.

Colonel Vans Kennedy has advanced, and supported with great learning, a very different hypothesis. According to him Sanscrit was the language of the priests of Babylon, who on some great state convulsion (and he alludes particularly to the conquest by Ninus) were obliged to flee, and proceeded, some eastward to India, others westward to Asia Minor and Europe. But in the absence of the faintest tradition or even rumour, we

cannot consider such a supposition admissible in any positive shape. No specimens exist of any poetical or literary compositions in the Babylonish language; and yet it is improbable, had any eminent works been produced, that they would have wholly perished, or that without them such a refined and artificial tongue should have been constructed. The natural conclusion, and one to which, in the absence of all positive evidence, the greatest weight will be attached, is that such a refined language must have been formed in a highly intellectual age, by correcting, expanding, and polishing a ruder dialect. Thus was framed the Attic Greek in the time of Pericles, the classic Latin in that of Augustus, and the French under Louis XIV. It is in fact positively stated that the earliest Vedas appear in a much rougher and more artless style than the compositions of a subsequent age.

But without being able to admit to the full extent Colonel Kennedy's hypothesis of the priests of Babylon being Bramins, and the Vedas being written in that capital, we would not reject as improbable the supposition of an early migration from the countries on either bank of the Euphrates, to India on one side, and Europe on the other. This would accord with the best historical authorities, and seemingly fulfil all the conditions necessary to account for the phenomena above stated. We could not indeed suppose the Sanscrit to travel in its fully formed and highly artificial state. The grammatical inflections indeed, as well as the words, bear unequivocal marks of connexion, yet apparently not so striking, nor extending beyond the mere elementary forms. The Sanscrit and Greek, as we have stated, agree in having the dual number and the middle voice; but the copious alphabet of the former and the six modes of the latter form peculiarities which seem to refute the notion of their being modelled upon each other.

Next in dignity to Sanscrit is the Prakrit, which Sir William Jones defines to be little more than the language of the Bramins melted down, by a delicate articulation, to the softness of Italian. It appears, however, that

there are different provincial forms of the same tongue, of which that of Magadha or Behàr is the principal. They are very distinct from the vernacular idioms of the same districts, where none of them indeed are now spoken; being found only in the ancient classical writings, or in imitations of them. There the Bramins and other grave personages speak in Sanscrit, the heroine and principal females in Prakrit. Mr Wilson considers it a question yet undecided, whether the latter was ever spoken, and was not rather an artificial modification of the other, adapted to particular branches of literature. We cannot but think the first supposition the more probable; and it seems supported by the character of its grammar, which may be viewed as marking a step from the theoretic perfection of the Sanscrit to the practical facility of the present dialects.

The existing languages of India are numerous, and vary in almost every province. The most widely diffused are the Hindee, originally spoken in the central metropolitan provinces; the Bengalee; and the Maharashtra. They contain, however, so vast a proportion of Sanscrit, that Dr Carey considers the words borrowed from that tongue as composing their main body, varied from the original only by a change of form, and a simpler and ruder grammatical construction. Mr Kennedy, on the contrary, contends that these languages derive from another source a number of vocables so great as properly to constitute their basis; though Sanscrit, which he views as introduced from abroad, has been largely infused into them by communication between the learned and illiterate classes. It may be observed, that the Hindee, once the most important, has been in a good measure superseded by the Hindostanee, a compound between it and the Persian, introduced by its Mohammedan conquerors. The latter, at their courts, still make use of this foreign speech. The languages of the south of India, according to Ellis and Campbell, have a distinct basis of their own, and are only sprinkled with Sanscrit terms derived from their intercourse with the central states.

The literature of India is in a pre-eminent degree connected and even identified with its religion. This is more particularly true of its most ancient and venerated portions, the Vedas, the Puranas, the Ramayana, and the Mahabarat. They are all ascribed to divine authors, and in great part to Brama himself; for which reason, their perusal is recommended as the means of purifying from sin, conferring holiness, and securing ultimate felicity. Being written in Sanscrit, a dead language, and studiously withdrawn by the Bramins from the inspection of the profane, their contents remained for a long time inaccessible. An impression even prevailed, that they would for ever continue sealed to the eyes of Europe. Sir William Jones, however, kindled an enthusiasm for exploring the treasures of oriental knowledge which nothing could resist; and his exertions, with those of Mr Colebrooke and other eminent scholars, have prevailed upon learned natives to lay open the stores of their literature, to furnish copies, and even to translate the most remarkable compositions of which it can boast. Professor Wilson, in particular, has procured an extensive series of versions from those works, which unfortunately are still in manuscript, but which he has in the most liberal manner placed at our disposal. From these, added to the materials formerly in our possession, we are enabled to communicate a more complete view of Hindoo literature than has ever yet been presented to the British public.

Of these early and sacred productions the part most ancient and transcendently holy is that termed the Vedas. They are described, not only as having been dictated by Brama, as having issued from his four mouths, but as having emanated from his very essence; in fact it is considered as one of his greatest glories, that he is identical with the Vedas. The most revered portion of them consists of the Sanhita, a collection of Mantras, being prayers and addresses to various divinities. But on having minutely examined specimens of these celebrated compositions, we are forced to come to the same conclusion as with respect to the Y-king of

China; that the veneration inspired by them is derived from antiquity alone; that instead of being, as they are held in India, the perfection and the model, they are only the first rude attempts at poetical and devotional composition. Mr Wilson, with great probability, conceives them to be forms of domestic worship, with which the present Braminical system appears to have originated. They consist chiefly of addresses to different deities, praying for wealth, happiness, forgiveness of sins, and triumph over enemies, in return for food which is placed before them. From the translations mentioned above we select the following address to Vayu and Indra:—

"The sharp Soma juices are consecrated and poured forth: Come, Indra and Vayu, drink them together.

"We invoke both deities, Indra and Vayu, abiding in heaven, to drink the Soma juice.

"The wise worship for their preservation Indra and Vayu, swift as thought, having a thousand eyes, and the protectors of understanding.

* * * * *

"Beneficent deities associated with Indra, destroy our enemy, let not our foe prevail against us."

The following comprises addresses to various deities, male and female:—

"Ministers and priests assembled at dawn, arouse the Aswins, may they come hither to partake of the juice.

"We invoke the Aswins, who, both divine, are the first of charioteers in brilliant cars, and resident in heaven.

"Aswins, partake of this rite, while your whip is wet with the foam of your steeds, and sounding loudly.

"Aswins, proceed in your car to the house of your worshipper, which is not far from you.

"I invoke Savita, with the hand of gold, for my protector. He, the deity, will know the station of the worshipper.

"Praise Savita for our protection; we are desirous of observing the rites of him who is a friend to the waters.

"We invoke Savita, the illuminator of men, the divider of wealth and varied treasures.

"Friends seated around, Savita, propitiated by our prayers, shines the giver of wealth.

"Agni, bring hither the lovely wives of the gods, and Twashta, to drink the Soma juice.

"Agni, bring hither, to protect the ministrant priests, the wives of the gods, the youthful Bharah, and the kindly Dhishana.

"May the goddesses, with unclipt wings, the protectresses of men, appear before us with great happiness for our preservation.

"Invoke hither Indrani and Varunani for good fortune; and Agnayi, to quaff the Soma juice.

"The wise receive by their rites the ghee-resembling waters of those two existing in the firmament, the region of the Gandharvas.

"Earth, be thou auspicious, free from thorns, the place of our domicile, give us boundless happiness."

The Soma juice, considered so delicious, and so powerful in propitiating the divinities, appears to have been merely a decoction of pounded grains. So all-important was this operation considered, that even the pestle and mortar, humble instruments in the operation, were endowed with a sacred character, and the following solemn mantra is addressed to them. To understand the epithet, "lords of the forest," we may observe, that they were made of wood, and of large dimensions.

"Indra, as the ponderous stone is raised to express the acid juice, be present and partake of the products of the mortar.

"If, indeed, O mortar! thou art present in every house, here give a powerful sound like the drums of victorious hosts.

"If ever, lord of the forest, the breeze blew upon you, now, mortar, generate the Soma juice for the beverage of Indra.

"Joint instruments, put forth a powerful sound, chewing corn like the steeds of Indra.

"Do you too, forest lords, favour us to-day with visible oblations, and produce sweet juices to Indra.

" Take up the juice in the two platters, bring it to a pure place, and pour the remainder upon the cow-hide."

The following to Agni, is in a somewhat higher tone :—

" Agni, sovereign lord of sacrifice, we begin to praise thee, who wipest away our sins, as a horse brushes off the flies with his tail.

" Mayest thou, Agni! ever be propitious to us, and the bestower of our desires.

" Mayest thou, Agni! be the universal pervader, protect us ever, whether near or remote, against every mortal that may wish us harm.

" Procure for us food in heaven and in mid-air, and grant us the wealth of earth.

" Thou pourest out wealth continually in successive portions, like the waves of a river.

" Salutation to the greater, and salutation to the lesser, salutation to the young, and salutation to the old ; we worship the gods as we are able ; may we not interrupt the praises of the elder gods."

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the great Hindoo triad, Brama, Vishnu, and Siva, are seldom, if at all, mentioned in the mantras. On the contrary, the prayers are addressed to that lower order of deities supposed to inhabit the Swerga, or firmament ; and as many of these are synonymous with the heavenly bodies and elements, sun, moon, fire, water, there is ground to presume, that the material forms of nature were the original objects of worship, while those of a higher description were the refinements or corruptions of a later age. In some passages, indeed, Vishnu occurs ; but there is some reason to suspect, that these have been subsequently interpolated ; though Mr Wilson does not consider our knowledge to be yet so perfect as would enable us to form any very positive conclusion.

The specimens now given of these most celebrated of the Hindoo compositions may perhaps be sufficient to satisfy general readers as to their tenor, and the correctness of our conclusion respecting them. There is, however, another portion of the Vedas, inferior as to antiquity and

sacredness, yet ranking above all other literary works. These are the Bramanas, a collection of moral precepts, religious maxims, and theological dogmas; and the tracts containing them are commonly called Upanishads, and often treat the subject in the form of dialogue. The whole are reported to have issued from the four mouths of Brama, but to have been collected and methodized by Byas or Vyasa, the highest and most sacred name among the Hindoos. Yet he is represented as having found them in the greatest disorder. It appears probable that he merely collected the mantras or prayers; but that, aided it may be presumed by some learned coadjutors, he actually composed the doctrinal and preceptive parts. These, in fact, are the purest and most elevated productions of Hindoo literature. Rammohun Roy, in endeavouring to prove that the unity of deity, and a just conception of his attributes, form the basis of the Hindoo religion, refers exclusively to them; insisting that all subsequent compositions ought to be swept away, and admitting that even the Mantras are tainted with idolatry. The following passages, in addition to others that have been quoted, seem to merit his eulogies:

"He from whom the universal world proceeds, who is the lord of the universe, and whose work is the universe, is the supreme being.

"He overspreads all creatures; is pure spirit, without the form either of any minute or of any extended body, which is liable to impression or organization. He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the ruler of the intellect, omnipresent, and the self-existent. He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes.

"Adore God alone; none but the supreme being is to be worshipped; no other being should be adored by a wise man.

"To those that acquire a knowledge of him, the ruler of the intellectual power, who is eternal amid the perishable universe, and is the source of sensation among all animate existences, and who alone assigns to so many

objects their respective purposes, everlasting beatitude is allotted; but not to those who are not possessed of that knowledge."

We must observe, however, that even the sections translated by this writer contain passages which bear most amply the stamp of that imperfection to which all uninspired writers are liable. The following will serve for an example:

"The supreme being is a quadruped animal in one place, and in another he is full of glory.—God is the letter ku as well as khu.—God is in the shape of slaves as well as flymen. Fire is his head; the sun and moon are his two eyes.—The omnipresent spirit, extending over the space of the heart, which is the size of a finger, resides within the body." Rammohun endeavours to explain these expressions as bearing an allegorical sense; but this was the common resource of enlightened pagan writers, and may be equally employed to veil the most gross and extravagant fables.

The works called the Puranas rank next in importance, and in the veneration attached to them by the Hindoo people. They are eighteen in number, and, according to an assertion which Mr Wilson believes to be not very far from the truth, contain altogether 1,600,000 lines,—a mass, the entire perusal of which would form a very laborious task. There are, besides, several upa or minor puranas. The obstacles to the study of these voluminous compositions are so great as to make it not at all wonderful, that no one should yet have been presented entire to the European public. This want, however, we are happy to understand, will soon be supplied by Professor Wilson. Notwithstanding their numerous imperfections, and the uncertainty in many cases as to their origin and authenticity, they are the genuine product of the Hindoo mind, exhibiting a much fuller picture of it than any that has been hitherto drawn from mere observation, or from oral intercourse with ill-instructed individuals.

The Puranas do not dispute the unrivalled fame of

the Veda and Vedanta; yet they take a much wider range, and are the objects of more general perusal. Instead of the simple prayers of the Mantras, and of the elevated abstract theology of the Vedanta, they undertake to unfold the economy of the whole universe, and delineate all existences, past, present, and to come. They begin usually with a description, partly grand partly mystical, of the supreme mind, and some abstruse philosophic speculations on the nature of things. This is followed by the creation of the world, including gods, asuras or demons, men, animals, heaven and earth. The latter object being, however, unfortunately sunk beneath the abyss of waters, Brama is described in the shape of a boar drawing it up and bringing it into shape. This leads to the formation of mountains, rivers, the dwipas or continents, and the seven oceans surrounding them. In the course of the work, a general system of cosmogony and geography is introduced, including nearly all the physical science possessed by the nation. As the author proceeds, various adventures of the gods are introduced, in particular their frightful conflicts with the asuras, demons, and giants. As almost all the inferior members of the Hindoo pantheon are deified heroes, their story is in fact that of celebrated kings and warriors; and occasion is taken to give lists of the great dynasties, distinguished by the titles of the Sun and Moon. Formulæ of prayer and sacrifice, directions for penance and pilgrimage, and moral precepts, are variously interspersed. The treatise very usually concludes with the destruction of the world at the close of the existing Kalpa, and its renovation in a succeeding one under a new form. The ancient Puranas, amid much extravagance, preserve generally a grave and dignified tone; but the more modern indulge sometimes, with a license exceeding that of Ovid and other classical writers, in fantastic, puerile, and often indecent legends, yet not unmixed with fine poetical imagery. Being thus rendered attractive, they are considered by Rammohun Roy as a main source of the impurity which has stained the national religion.

Of these sacred compositions, the oldest is generally understood to be the Brama Purana; yet from the character of the legends interspersed, and the objects of worship alluded to, the production now bearing that name is suspected to be in part only ancient and genuine, and the rest to have been filled up by a modern hand. The Vayu Purana being one of the most complete, especially in a scientific view, and seemingly in a pure state, we shall begin with a short notice of its contents. As usual in Hindoo works, it eminently extols its own virtues, declaring itself to be the Bramakshya, or the Brama itself; and that as an elucidation of the Vedas, it is absolutely necessary, in order to know the creation of the universe, its annihilation, its existence, and preservation. Under these several heads, it treats of nearly the whole range of physical science, though, as will presently appear, without displaying any profound or correct insight into the subject.

The primary origin of the universe is with justice referred to the one supreme deity, who is described in terms not devoid of grandeur, as "the God of gods, who is every thing, and every thing is in him; the cause of the universe, the Lord of lords, and rich with all the riches of the world; it is he who has created all from the Mahattatwa to the universe inclusive." Under the title of Avyokta, he is represented as "the indescribable supreme being, who is eternal, without birth, void of death, who is the greatest as well as the smallest of all, and the origin of every thing. He is the spring of the universe, or the being from whom the whole universe sprung up."

A somewhat indistinct account is given of the manner in which the supreme cause gave birth to three natures, Satwa, Tamas, and Rajas, from certain combinations of which all things are produced. The three united form Brama, on whom, from the time of his coming into existence, the main work of creation devolved; and he is described in terms very little inferior to those applied to the supreme one. "He is a Purusha male, or the soul;

he is the Lord-god; he is void of birth; he was at the beginning; he is the best of all; he is compassionate and considerate towards all creatures; he is Brama and the superior of the three worlds." The world and all existing beings, it is said, are created in a day of Brama, and destroyed during his night; next morning a new series of creation takes place.

The first step towards creation was, it appears, the formation of a golden egg, of an incomparable form and appearance, and covered by water. The order of production is said to have been, 1. Gods. 2. Asuras or demons. 3. Trees and other vegetables. 4. Seas. 5. Gandharvas. 6. Yakshasa. 7. Serpents. 8. Men. By some mischance, however, the world was erelong covered with water: there were neither mountains nor trees, nothing but vacuity on every side. Brama alone was moving in the flood, having the same appearance as a fire-fly in the dark nights of autumn. In this position he dozed for a thousand yugas or ages; at the end of which he roused his energies, and observed both himself and the globe to be in an awkward position. He therefore began to consider in what form he might best draw up the sunken earth; and after full deliberation, he fixed upon that of a huge boar or hog, as an animal delighting to wallow in water. This divine boar, into which Brama transmuted himself, "was 500 miles high, his colour was blue, his form and beauty splendid; he shone like the sun, and moved like a lion; his skin was glittering, and his appearance most beautiful. His feet were the Vedas, his breast the seat of sacrifice, his mouth knowledge, day and night were his two eyes, his bristles were blades of cusa-grass; he was full of truth, virtue, and piety." In this shape did the god plunge into the abyss, seize the earth, draw it up, and place it on the surface of the waves, where it then floated. Next inhaling the fluid, he blew it into oceans, rivers, and seas. The mountains were then raised, the land divided, and beings created as in other Kalpas.

The author gives the following summary view of his

cosmogony. The infinite earth, water, fire, air, and vacuity, pervade all things; the first having the truly astonishing dimension of 2,500,000,000 miles. In the centre is Mount Meru, whence there is an extent of 600,000,000 miles on each side. There are seven oceans, and seven dwipas or continents, all to the south of the same mountain. The orb of the sun is only 45,000 miles in diameter, and three times as much in circumference; a proportion showing some geometrical knowledge. Its car, 50,000 miles in length and breadth, is driven by horses identical with the Vedas, and was formed by Brama for the good of the universe. The sun, seated in this car, guides the horses by beautiful ropes. In summer, while moving through the northern quarter, he holds them tight, causing the steeds to make only a slow progress, and thus producing a long day: in winter, on the contrary, when in the south, he holds them loosely, the horses flee at full speed, and the day is soon ended. At the close of eve, the rays of the sun are transferred into fire, and it becomes dark; but in the morning, the lustre of fire re-enters the orb, which again shines. The orbit of the sun is about 500,000,000 miles,—a singular statement, as compared with the dimensions of the earth, and seeming to imply, that it illuminates only a portion of this lower world.

The Vishnu Purana is by no means supposed to be very old, not earlier indeed than the tenth century; but it is the most copious and complete of any, derived from ancient and pure cources, and exhibits therefore a full summary of the early mythology and science of India. It includes also the most comprehensive list of the solar and lunar dynasties. For these reasons Mr Wilson considers it as the most valuable of the Puranas, and is preparing an edition under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee, which being enriched with copious notes, and extracts from the other Puranas, will convey to the learned in Europe a pretty accurate idea of that class of compositions. This work is composed by a zealous partisan of Vishnu, who being identified with

Brama, is represented as performing jointly all the exploits elsewhere attributed to this chief of the Hindoo triad. The description of the raising of the earth from under the waters is here given more at length than in the Vayu, and under a dramatic form :—

"At the close of the past (or Padma) Kalpa, the divine Brama, endowed with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night of sleep, and beheld the universe void. He, the supreme Narayana, the incomprehensible, the sovereign of all creatures, invested with the form of Brama, the god without beginning, the creator of all things, concluding, that within the waters lay the earth, and being desirous to raise it up, created another form for that purpose; and as in preceding Kalpas he had assumed the shape of a fish, or a tortoise, so in this he took the figure of a boar. Having adopted a form composed of the sacrifices of the Vedas, for the preservation of the whole earth, the eternal, supreme, and universal soul, the great progenitor of created beings, eulogized by Sanaka and other saints who dwell in the sphere of holy men (Janaloka); he, the supporter of spiritual and material being, plunged into the ocean. The goddess earth thus beholding him descending into the subterrene regions, bowed in devout adoration, and thus glorified the god :—

"'*Prithivi* (Earth).—Hail to thee, who art all creatures; to thee, the holder of the mace and shell, elevate me now from this place, as thou hast upraised me in days of old! From thee have I proceeded; of thee do I consist; as do the skies and all other existing things. Hail to thee, spirit of the supreme spirit! to thee, soul of soul; to thee who are discrete and indiscrete matter; who art one with the elements and with time! Thou art the creator of all things, their preserver, and their destroyer, in the forms of lord, of Brama, Vishnu, and Rudra, as the seasons of creation, duration, and dissolution. Whatever may be apprehended by the mind, whatever may be perceived by the senses, whatever may be discerned by the intellect, all is but a form of thee. I am of thee,

upheld by thee; thou art my creator, and to thee I fly for refuge. Triumph to the essence of all wisdom, to the unchangeable, the imperishable; triumph to the eternal, to the indiscrete, to the essence of discrete things; to him who is both cause and effect; who is the universe; the sinless lord of sacrifice, triumph! The sun, the stars, the planets, the whole world; all that is formless or that has form; all that is visible or invisible; all that I have said or left unsaid, all this, Purushottama supreme, thou art. Hail to thee again and again! hail, all hail!'

"*Parasara* (the narrator).—The auspicious supporter of the world, being thus hymned by the earth, emitted a low murmuring sound like the chanting of the Sama Veda; and the mighty boar, whose eyes were like the lotus, and whose body, vast as the Nila Mountain, was of the dark colour of the lotus leaves, uplifted upon his ample tusks the earth from the lowest regions. Through the indentations made by his hoofs, the waters rushed into the lower world with a thundering noise. Before his breath the pious denizens of Janaloka were scattered, and the Munis sought for shelter among the bristles on the scriptural body of the boar. Then the great sages were inspired with delight, and bowing lowly they praised the stern upholder of the earth.

"*The Yogis.*—Triumph, lord of lords supreme! Kesava, sovereign of the earth, the wielder of the mace, the shell, the discus, and the sword; source of production, destruction, and existence. *Thou art*, O God; there is no other supreme condition but thou. Thine eyes, O Omnipotent, are day and night; thy head is the seat of all, the place of Brama; thy mane is all the hymns of the Vedas; thy nostrils are all oblations; O thou, whose snout is the ladle of oblation; whose deep voice is the chanting of the Sama Veda; whose body is the hall of sacrifice; whose joints are the different ceremonies; and whose ears have the property of both voluntary and involuntary rites; do thou, who art eternal, who art in size a mountain, be propitious. Have pity on us, O lord of conscious

and unconscious beings! The orb of the earth is seen seated on the tip of thy tusks, as if thou hadst been sporting amidst a lake where the lotus floats, and hadst borne away the leaves covered with soil. The space between heaven and earth is occupied by thy body, O thou of unequalled glory, resplendent with the power of pervading the universe, O lord, for the benefit of all. They who know true wisdom, and whose minds are pure, behold this whole world as one with divine knowledge, as one with thee, O God," &c.

The supreme being who is thus eulogized, upholding the earth, raised it quickly, and placed it on the summit of the ocean, where it floats like a mighty vessel, and from its expansive surface, does not sink beneath the waters. Then, having levelled the earth, the great eternal deity divided it into portions by mountains; he who never wills in vain created again by his irresistible power those lofty heights which had been consumed at the destruction of the world. Having then parcelled the world into seven great divisions or continents, he constructed in like manner the four lower spheres, earth, sky, heaven, and the sphere of the sages. (Maharloka).

Those Puranas which are ancient, or formed upon early models, though in a great degree extravagant, preserve in general a certain dignity and gravity. The accounts of the origin and formation of the world, and the range of story and tradition, are nearly similar in all, and may be considered as orthodox and established. But in the more modern compositions of this class, the writers, as already observed, have given full reins to their imagination, and indulged in legends of the most wild description. Still they often exhibit, amid their aberrations, a greater richness of fancy and imagery than is to be found in the earlier specimens. The reader may therefore be amused by a few extracts, which will show the licentious style in which orientals sometimes indulge. They shall be taken from the Uttara Khanda (last chapter) of the Brama Purana, though this part is usually found detached from the rest of that

celebrated work, with which it seems even doubtful if it has any real connexion.

This Purana is said to have been composed by Agastias, an eminent saint, who resided in a garden on the shore of the southern ocean. This place is described as a perfect paradise, and a long enumeration is given of the birds, beasts, and plants, with which it is adorned. A disciple having come to inquire the means of attaining virtue and felicity, he announces as a grand and sufficient one "the mention and glorification of the depths of Brama." He undertakes, therefore, to relate the character and actions of that deity "most splendid, almighty in power, and identical with the three Vedas;" and these deeds, it is said, are so holy, that by simply hearing them, all sins, however numerous, will be wiped away. The reader may perhaps form a different opinion.

We are soon introduced to Sumrida, a son of Brama, who was educated by five eminent rishis or saints, in the depth of a forest, and by long abstinence and austerity arrived at great power. He therefore thought himself entitled to appear before his father, and solicit the greatest of boons. He prefaced his request by a song in his praise, which, had it been directed to a worthier object, and not evidently prompted by a selfish purpose, might have claimed admiration. "By thee all the creatures, animate and inanimate, are created, preserved, and destroyed. Thou art the essence of all, the source of every beauty. Thou art the general cause of the three worlds. Hence all beings offer their adorations to thee, their hearts being entirely abstracted from every other object. The gods, demons, mankind, the serpents, the Siddhas, those accomplished inhabitants of air, the Gandharvas or heavenly songsters, all take refuge under thee, who art the lord of all, the father of the numberless generations of beings. Thou, lord! createst and destroyest these worlds as if for thy sport. What then is beyond thy power!"

In answer to this address, Brama graciously requested to know what the desired boon was, intimating that it

should be granted. This might have appeared all that Sumrida could possibly wish; but, on the contrary, it seems, his understood object being to obtain Siddhi, or celestial beatitude, which includes all possible good, the tender of any single favour, however great, was virtually to refuse the whole. The indignant son therefore immediately began to deride and depreciate the greatness which he had so highly extolled. "Do not," says he, "vaunt thy high dignity as the father of all creatures. Be not so intoxicated with it, as to think meanly of others. A being thus proud is sure to be punished with a fall. Those who have truly attained religious abstraction, think your dignity merely vanity, and made up of dreams." After these compliments, he hesitated not directly to ask the precious gift, but had surely little reason to be surprised when the deity, by silence, intimated his refusal.

Sumrida, now enraged beyond all bounds, rushed out of the Bramaloka; and placing himself on the highest pinnacle of the Himmaleh, he called aloud, in the hearing of gods, men, and of all creatures, that he would create a new world of so transcendent a beauty, as to shame that of which Brama had been the author. With this view he hastened to bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges; then resting on one of his toes, he rivetted his eyes on the solar rays, fed on air, and fixed his mind in devout abstraction on "the one imperishable being who pervades all nature, and is the essence of every thing that was, is, or ever shall be." These observances soon produced those mighty effects which Hindoo mythology ascribes to them. Rivers of molten gold flowed from his body; the sea became a reservoir of hot water, the fishes were scorched, the air was troubled, the sun was darkened, and the gods were seized with alarm, that from some unknown cause the universe was sinking into dissolution. They repaired to Vachaspati, the god of language, teacher and counsellor of the immortals, and from him learned what was going on upon the banks of the Ganges. Forthwith they went to Sumrida, soothed

him with flattering expressions, and having learned his cause of discontent, undertook to intercede with his father in his behalf. They accordingly proceeded to Brama's mansion, and endeavoured by every argument in their power to induce him to grant his son's wishes ; but "that great and glorious origin of all creatures, though replete with the nectar of mercy, paid no attention to their words." They did not then venture to return to the god, who thus perceiving that their mission had failed, determined to proceed to extremities. He devoted himself to a more rigid abstraction than ever, shutting his eyes to all earthly objects; and he thereby acquired such power, that at his call there issued from the sun an innumerable host of most extraordinary beings, named daityas or asuras. They displayed every variety and incongruity of which living form is capable ; some were dwarfs, others lofty as the Himmaleh ; some were composed of flesh without bones, others were mere skeletons. They were fair, dark, red, and all the various colours of the rainbow : their heads, voices, hair, faces, hands, being equally dissimilar. They rode variously, on horses, cows, foxes, lizards, whales, or alligators ; and their wild cries filled the universe with terror. Throwing themselves on their faces, they expressed the most entire devotion to Sumrida ; with which, it is said, "that most excellent sage and best of persons was highly delighted."

The news of this extraordinary creation spread through the Hindoo heaven, and the deities came crowding to see it. Moved at once to wonder and ridicule, and ironically alluding to his former announcement, they declared, that they had indeed witnessed Brama's creation, but what was it to this ? Stung by these taunts, the author of the new world determined on vengeance ; and having armed and equipped his uncouth bands, he ordered them to march and give battle to Brama. They hastened to fulfil their mission ; and at the view of their terrible shadows passing through the skies, the three worlds were struck with a panic like that which will be felt in the last day of the universe, when the all-destroying fires of annihila-

tion appear. Having defeated on their way many divine armies, they invaded Amaravati, the seat of heavenly empire. When any one inquired their intention, they answered, it was to dethrone Brama, to plunder the three worlds, and put all to utter destruction. Every one encountered by them in arms was immediately sent to the habitation of Yama, the lord of the dead; and soon loud screams of "Save, save! do not kill us helpless and innocent!" were heard throughout the celestial mansion. The invaders spread over all space, and pervaded the whole creation, threatening to burst the universal vessel (the world). All exclaimed: "Is the world about to perish untimely, through the wrath of the great destroyer?" Hereupon the lotus-eyed followers of the older divinity rushed forth by millions to attack the saintly demons. The battle continued many days, dreadful and doubtful; when at length the daityas pushed forward in the most determined manner, brandishing ponderous maces and other instruments of destruction. The servants of the parent-god, covered with wounds, and despairing of success, gave way before the mighty assailants, who still continued to advance, destroying every one they met. The inhabitants of heaven, air, earth, and all who composed the army of Brama, were completely put to the rout. Then commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants of the Bramaloka, whose streaming blood spread into rivers and lakes, like those which spring from lofty mountains. Some were dead, some dying, some uttering lamentations, and all things were in the most complete state of confusion and alarm.

Amid all this tumult, Brama, very unseasonably it would appear, had remained wholly absorbed in contemplation on the supreme essence. At length, roused by these dreadful sounds, he bestirred himself, and ordered his ministers, powerful, experienced, and well versed in the art of war, to march out and destroy those ravagers. A fresh battle ensued, nearly a repetition of the preceding one, and which issued similarly in the complete triumph of the daityas. Then, amid martial music and

shouts of victory, holding myriads of torches in their hands, they rushed upon the house of the Creator; and although the actions of this deity are the professed subject of the Purana, yet no feats either of courage or prowess are recorded of him. On the present occasion, he thought it most prudent to drop down to the earth, where he wandered in humble guise, leaving his rebellious son ruler of the universe. At the point, however, where the Ganges falls into the sea, he met Sanatkumar, who desired him to sit down; and having heard his doleful tale, undertook to retrieve his affairs. With this view he went up to Siva in Koilasa, and representing the sad condition of the head of his triad, prevailed upon him to interpose. He therefore visited Brama under the form of Sambhu, from whose body issued forth Ekavira, a mighty heroine, fitted to cope with the whole tremendous host of daityas. She began by uttering such a frightful roar, that the whole of that rebel rout were struck with confusion and dismay; after which, rushing to the attack, she completely vanquished them, compelling them to seek refuge in regions beneath the earth. Siva then came and announced the victory to Brama, who, by this damsel's prowess, was restored from the condition of a wandering mendicant to be the ruler of the universe.

The narrative is afterwards diversified by a scene of courtship. Brama, it appears, had a numerous body of sons on earth, for whom he felt it desirable to provide wives of superlative beauty and excellence. With this view he surveyed all the virgins in the houses of the different divinities, but, as none satisfied him, he had recourse to the rishis or saints, who recommended the daughters of fire, "most beautiful virgins, who resemble Sri (the goddess of beauty), who speak truth, and truth only, and who are of pure character." The creator allowed himself to be led to the rural residence of these maidens, who, being called by a matron, came and did profound obeisance to him, "their minds being fixed entirely in devotion, and their hearts purified from every spot." He received them with the warmest tokens and expres-

sions of kindness; then assuming the character of an instructor, he paved the way for his proposition. "It was vain," he told them, "to leave the world and follow devout abstraction, for the lords of young damsels are their husbands, to whose service they should constantly devote themselves. To take shelter in the lotus of the feet of the husband is their greatest duty, on which their virtuous practices, their riches, and the success of their views, entirely depend; and that duty will carry them safe across the ocean of worldly affairs. Not by bestowing gifts, not by performing austere devotion, not by offering burnt sacrifices, can a woman obtain supreme felicity. A husband is superior to Vishnu. A helpless woman, without husband or children, has never been known to go to heaven." These beautiful girls, whose eyes were like lotuses, alarmed by this representation, entreated him to take pity, and relieve them from such a perilous situation. He then assured them, that he could provide an ample store of husbands in his own sons, now on earth. The maidens, though it is said their own hearts did not testify in favour of this proceeding, yielded to his authority, and agreed to be led forth, though it might be as victims to the sacrifice. They only entreated him to fix the term, during which the daughters of fire, the inhabitants of the Bramaloka, must remain in the abode of mortal man.

A description is now given of the fair brides, which may illustrate the Indian ideas of beauty: "They were of a complexion fair as the ketakí flower; their mien and gestures were elevated, yet pleasing. Their locks were adorned with flowers, on which bees were gaily sporting. Their foreheads, their lotus-like feet, their eyes, were all charmingly painted. Their faces resembled the full moon. All their limbs were well formed and placed. Their smile was charming, and showed most beautiful teeth. Some walked stately as elephants, others, in the grace and elegance of their movements, were superior to geese. In short, they were every way the loveliest objects in nature. They were in the spring time of youth,

in those happy days, when the maiden, trembling between love and shame, repels the caresses of her beloved lord, while she inwardly consents to them." Brama then summoned Viswakarma, the celestial architect, to rear on the Himmaleh a structure fit for the reception of the numerous happy pairs; and in three days a palace was erected, equalling in beauty the celestial regions. The nuptials were celebrated with matchless pomp, and each of the heaven-born couples was accommodated with spacious apartments in the new mansion.

The account of a contest between the asuras or demons, and the devatas or deities, strikingly exemplifies the extravagant machinery introduced into these narratives. The asuras had determined to attack the inhabitants of heaven, but not fully trusting to their own resources, they applied to Kalagni Rudra, who, in his dread mountain-caverns, was preparing the great destroying fire that is one day to reduce the universe to ashes. He framed for them the mighty fire-weapon Vadabastra, which could dry up oceans in an instant, and thus provided, they rushed to battle at the Mandana forest. They began with ordinary arms, but on finding themselves hard pressed, drew forth the mighty flaming-sword. "It rolled like ten millions of thunders, and its effulgence was as if a thousand suns had been blazing in one firmament. The three worlds were filled with its roar." They now held themselves assured of victory, not being aware that the gods, in contemplation of this crisis, had visited the holy river Valayu, "the destroyer of wickedness and of every wicked thing." The divinity of this stream presented them with billows variously coloured, assuring them that "there is not, never was, nor ever shall be, in the three worlds, god, demigod, demon, cannibal, or man, however armed, who could resist the force of these billow-weapons." The gods, therefore, when they saw the dreadful Vadabastra blazing, threw against it this antagonist, by which it was instantly quenched. The demons themselves fled full speed, not daring to look behind. The waves pursued them till they reach-

ed Uttarakuru, where they plunged "into their own blessed place" in the subterraneous regions.

Another of these ancient compositions, which enjoys the highest celebrity, is the Ramayana of Valmiki. Mr Wilson considers it even as older than the Puranas; and some at least of those works appear to have been certainly more modern. It exaggerates in the highest degree the benefits to be derived from its perusal, declaring, even of a particular section, that whoever constantly studies it, shall, with his whole progeny be for ever delivered from pain, distress, and sorrow. The narrative, however, relates to exploits performed, not in heaven, but by Rama, an earthly hero, afterwards, indeed, exalted to divinity. The incidents are equally puerile and extravagant, and this poem seems chiefly to have laid the foundation for the debasing worship of the monkey, now general throughout Hindostan. Rama, an accomplished young prince, had his beloved Sita snatched from him by the giant Ravana, who carried her off to Lanka (Ceylon). Notwithstanding his prowess, he did not venture to attempt a rescue, till he had formed an alliance with Sugriva, sovereign of the sportive race. These two monarchs, "the chiefs of monkeys and of men," then prepared for the contest. Hanuman, chief minister and general of the latter, went as ambassador to Ceylon, to demand the stolen beauty; but Ravana, instead of paying any regard to his mission, set fire to his tail, when he leaped in agony from house to house, burning almost the whole capital; and whence he finally escaped with only a blackened face, in which state the monkey is still worshipped. He then employed his army, consisting of several millions of his species, to throw mountains and hills into the sea, till they formed a bridge reaching to Ceylon. Ravana, seeing the war thus imminent, brought forward Kumbakharna, an enormous giant, who devoured a thousand of the enemy at a mouthful; but they crept all out at his nose and ears; and he himself at last fell under numerous wounds inflicted by Rama. The ravisher, obliged at length to come forward in person, shared the

same fate. Sita was thus recovered; but jealousy imbittered their lives, and hence, without delay, she was conveyed down to Patala, while he drowned himself in the holy waters of the Saryu, and was received into heaven.

In regard to the literary merit of this work, we had not, in judging from the literal Latin translation by Messrs Carey and Marshman, been led to form a very high estimate of it. In describing and extolling any individual it indulges in an accumulation of epithets, common indeed with the Greek and early Hindoo writers, but which seems nowhere else carried to such an excess. Thus Rama is described, "of regulated mind, temperate, magnanimous, patient, illustrious, self-subdued, wise, eminent in royal duties, eloquent, fatal to his foes, of ample shoulders, brawny arms, with neck shell-formed and rising cheeks, eminent in archery, of mighty energy, subduing his enemies, with arms reaching to the knee." These are not half the descriptive terms employed,—yet we are assured by persons of taste who understand the original, that amid its antique simplicity it contains many passages of considerable beauty, and this seems confirmed by the part translated by the elegant pen of Sir William Jones. The affection between Rama and Sita is expressed in simple and pleasing language. "Sita, the daughter of Janneo, lived in peculiar felicity with her spouse, even as the beautiful Sri with Vishnu. By her gentle disposition was Sita endeared to the great Rama, while his excellent qualities constantly increased her love to him. Rama was beloved by Sita beyond her own life; each heart was filled with mutual and boundless affection."

The following description of the golden age we add from the part translated by Sir William Jones:—

"During this reign, no terrors alarmed or sorrows rent the bosoms of his votaries; all was love, piety, concord; the name of vice was unknown or unheard; none were then infirm, none ignorant, none distressed; sweet and salutary liquors flowed from every tree; perpetual blossoms laughed on the stalks, and perpetual fruit hung

glittering from the branches; a cool placid gale blew without ceasing; the birds charmed each forest with aerial melody; and animals the most opposite in their kinds lived together, like the venerable cow with her own calf, in perfect amity."

The Mahabarat is another of those sacred poems, which divides with the preceding the veneration of Hindostan. It makes even the lofty pretension of being composed by Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas. In fact, Mr Wilson considers that, though later than the Ramayana, it is generally older than the Puranas, though all its parts were not written at the same time. As a literary work, it seems decidedly superior to its predecessor, which it resembles in the principal events and characters being earthly, though those of the celestial regions are intimately blended. Its subject is implied in the name, "the great war," being that long waged between the houses of Pandu and Kuru, which, after many vicissitudes, issued in the triumph of the latter. We cannot undertake any summary of its varied incidents. The following description of a battle, which we give from Professor Wilson's translation of part of it published at Calcutta, is exhibited with very considerable power:—

"Now, as on either side the hosts advanced,
A sudden tumult filled the sky; earth shook;
Chafed by wild winds, the sands upcurled to heaven,
And spread a veil before the sun. Blood fell
In showers; shrill screaming kites and vultures winged
The darkling air, while howling jackalls hung
Around the march, impatient for their meal;
And ever and anon the thunder roared,
And angry lightnings flashed across the gloom,
Or blazing meteors fearful shot to earth.
Regardless of these awful signs, the chiefs
Rushed on to mutual slaughter, and the peal
Of shouting hosts commingling shook the world.
Contending warriors, emulous for victory,
And great in arms, wielded the sharp-edged sword,
And hurled the javelin; frequent flew the dart,
And countless arrows canopied the combat.
Against the ruler of the Kuru force,
The Pandu chiefs their clustering cohorts urged;
But soon the bands were broken by his prowess,
Like clouds that, scattering, fly before the gale.

Next felt the force of Srinjaya his might,
And shrunk from his encounter, like the Titans
From Indra's valour. To their succour came
Panchala's sons, by Dhrishtadyumna led.
A momentary check the veteran troops
That followed Drona from the shock sustained;
But soon his skill the cohorts rearrayed,
Revived their hopes, and roused them to redeem
Their fame. The foe, in turn arrested, paused,
And fled in fear, like deer before the lion;
The victors chased, and, wheeling in pursuit,
As in a fiery circle, hemmed them round.
Before the rest rode Drona on his car,—
By art immortal framed,—the banners stood
Unwaving as they rapid met the breeze;
Swift plunged the headlong steeds amid the throng,
And terror hovered o'er the warrior's course.

* * * *

Bharadwaja's son
Was stopped in his career; awhile he paused;
Rose in his car,—he cast his eyes around,
Glowing with rage, then furious rushed amidst
The adverse host, as bursts the roaring gale
Amongst the vollied clouds; and over men,
And steeds, and cars, he forced his headlong way,
Borne by his coursers, rapid as the breeze,
And stained a red still ruddier than their own,
As wading onwards midst the plashy gore.
His years forgot, the veteran chieftain, fired
With rage, the energy of youth resumed;
Amidst the Pandu ranks he smote resistless,
And many a headless corse, and mangled limb,
And car deserted, marked the warrior's path.
Fast flew his arrows with unerring aim,
And heaven loud echoed to his rattling bow;
The soil was soddened with the crimson stream
Of the vast numbers, men, and steeds, and elephants,
Whom Drona's shafts to Yama's halls consigned."

A great proportion of the work, however, consists of fragments, relating to the adventures of different kings and heroes, in which love is a prevailing theme. The Bhagavat Gita is a portion, or rather a long episode, translated by Mr Wilkins, and from which we have abridged the extraordinary legend respecting the churning of the ocean; but this part is considered decidedly modern, as compared with the rest. The little narrative of Nala and Damayanti, has been translated into Latin by Bopp, and into elegant English verse by Mr Milman. From

the version of the earlier parts made by Mr Wilson, we introduce the following as pleasing specimens :—

SAMVARANA AND TAPATI.

"To him who fills the skies with his burning rays was born a daughter like himself, named Tapati. She was famed in the three regions for her devotion, and neither goddess, nor demon, nor Apsara, nor Gandharva, equalled her in beauty. Her limbs were well formed and attractive, her eyes large and bright, her life pure. Savitri could think of none in the regions that could match her in beauty, good dispositions, and a knowledge of the Vedas; and when she came of age he could enjoy no rest through thinking of a husband for her.

"The mighty Samvarana, the best of Kuru's race, adored the sun with flowers, food, perfumes, and various austerities. He read the Vedas, was free from vanity, pure, and faithful. He appeared to the deity worthy of his daughter.

"As the sun shines in the skies, so shone Samvarana on earth; and as his rising orb is worshipped by Bramanas, so the king was worshipped by all inferior orders. Once when that handsome and very mighty king was hunting on a wooded mountain, his noble steed died of hunger and thirst. The king then walking alone, beheld a girl with large eyes, and of incomparable loveliness. He supposed her Sri, the goddess of beauty, or Prabha, the sun's wife, descended from his bright region. She was brilliant as the god of fire, clear like the moon; the mountain on which she sat, with its rocks and trees, appeared, through her beauty, glittering like gold. At sight of her, the king conceived a contempt of all other creatures; his eyes seemed blessed, he could remember nothing in his life before that could bear a comparison; his soul and eyes became riveted upon her; he thought, that to produce such an incomparable creature, the whole world must have been churned, with all its gods, demons, and men. With raptures of love he addressed her: 'O thou, whose

limbs are like plantain-trees, whose form is so delicate, whose smile so enchanting, who and whose art thou? Why art thou seated here, alone in the solitary forest? I know not how to name you, whether goddess, demon, she-serpent, gandharva, nymph, or woman; but you eclipse all the beautiful damsels I ever beheld. At sight of that countenance so fair, with eyes like lotus leaves, Mammatha greatly torments me.' He was silent, she made no reply; and when he spoke again, she vanished, as the lightning hides itself in the cloud. The king having wandered long in search of her, but in vain, fell senseless on the ground. That fair girl, seeing him in this state, took pity on him, reappeared, and said: 'O vanquisher of your enemies, rise, you will prosper! O best of kings, renowned on the earth, it becomes not you thus to fall into a swoon!' At these ambrosial words, the king opened his eyes, and seeing his beloved maiden, with swelling bosom and sweetly smiling, thus addressed her:—'O beautiful nymph, I am overpowered with love, the breath of life is about to leave me, unless you will become mine! O damsel, who shinest with a lustre like that of the pericarp of the lotus, for your sake Kama pierces me with sharp and ceaseless arrows. O thou, with swelling bosom and voice like the song of the Kinnaras, I cannot live without thee! Save me, O best of females! Having once beheld thee, I cannot willingly look upon any other object. At sight of thee, Mammatha deeply pierces me with his darts. O! check too the invincible Pushpayudha, who, since I saw you, has bent his dreadful bow, and wounds me with insupportable arrows.'

"'*Tapati.*—I am not mistress of myself; I have a father, who is the sun; ask me from him. Females cannot act according to their own wishes. What girl in any of the regions would not wish to have for her husband a king so renowned? Ask me with salutations, austerities, and observances; if he consent, I will be ever obedient to you.'" She then immediately ascended, when the king again fell senseless to the ground. Meantime the

minister, who had been searching for his master, and sending scouts in every direction, at length discovered this conqueror of his enemies lying overpowered by love. By sprinkling on his head water, flowers, and perfumes, he was brought to himself; upon which he dismissed all except the statesman, with whom he remained on that best of mountains. Joining his hands, and lifting his head to the sun, he meditated for twelve days on Vasistha, his family saint, who, by divine knowledge having discovered his love, kindly undertook to favour it. In a resplendent form he ascended, and entered the abode of the sun, who gave him a most cordial reception, saying, "'O very fortunate, O best of speakers, whatever you may wish from me I will grant, how difficult soever!'" The saint then solicited Tapati 'for the very famous king, who has a right notion of virtue, and the modes of acquiring wealth, and practises Yoga.' The deity replied,—"'Samvarana is the best of all kings; you, O Muni! are the best of all rishis, and Tapati is the best of all females.'" The request was granted; and the monarch, who was anxiously watching beneath, saw with rapture that "fine-eyebrowed girl descending from the sky like lightning, illuminating all the regions by her brilliancy." They were united, and spent many years of uninterrupted felicity.

There is, without doubt, something very striking and original in the following narrative:—"Santanu, who is wise and endowed with a beauty like that of the gods, constantly hunted alone in the woods. There he one day beheld a girl resplendent with beauty like the Goddess of Love, endowed with all excellence, having fine teeth, adorned with rich clothes and jewels, and with a complexion like the pericarp of the lotus. The king was delighted,—his hairs stood on end with joy,—he addressed her thus:—'Whether you are a goddess, grace, celestial nymph, or woman, O beautiful and delicately formed damsel, I pray you to become my wife!' Having heard these words spoken in a soft and charming tone, the perfect girl approached him

and said, 'O king, I will be your obedient queen! but you must not prevent me from doing whatever I please, whether good or bad; otherwise I must leave you.' His majesty consented, and the union took place. The sovereign of the world was delighted with her beauty, candour, and virtuous conduct, as well as with her graces, smiles, and tender caresses. Devoted to love, months, seasons, and years rolled over his head. She bore him seven godlike sons; but as soon as each came to life, she took him and threw him into the waters of the Ganges. The king saw this with the deepest affliction; but he durst not speak, lest his beloved one should leave him. At length another was born, when, being overcome with agony, and anxiously desirous to save his child, he exclaimed, 'Do not kill him! Oh, who and what art thou? Why dost thou kill thy sons? O murderess of thy children! thou hast committed a great and grievous crime.' She calmly replied, 'Fear not, O best of fathers! thy son shall live, but my term on earth is ended. I am the Ganges!'" She then gave an explanation of her conduct, at least as extraordinary as itself.

The great Muni Vasistha, son to Varuna, had a holy asrama or hermitage on the side of Meru, the king of mountains. It was crowded with beasts and birds, and embellished with the flowers of all the seasons. He had a cow named Nandini, the daughter of Surabhi, a great goddess, who had born her expressly for his supply. This animal was of delicate form, with a beautiful tail and hoof, endowed with all the virtues and a most amiable temper. Her milk was copious, and had such virtue that whoever drank of it enjoyed ten thousand years of uninterrupted felicity. It happened one day that the eight vasus, the lords of the sky, came strolling through this forest, accompanied by their consorts. One of these, a slender-waisted, lotus-eyed goddess, saw Nandini, was struck with her beauty, and, on learning her excellent qualities, earnestly desired to possess her, solely, as she declared, to communicate this lengthened bliss to a dear

earthly friend. The Vasu then, aided by his brethren, and snatching a moment when the sage was buried in heavenly contemplation, seized and carried off this lovely, holy cow. Vasistha, on waking, soon missed his Nandini, and by his divine knowledge discovered what had become of her. Stung with rage, he imprecated a curse on the guilty Vasus, condemning them to be born in the region of mortals. Such was his power that they could not reverse this humiliating sentence; and as the only remedy, Ganga kindly undertook to assume a human shape, bear them, and by immediately throwing them into her waters, enable them to rejoin the immortals. Dyu only, the last born, being the actual thief, was doomed to a long abode on earth, though in the character of a great saint. Having then congratulated Santanu on being the father of eight lords of the sky, "she vanished and went to her desired place," leaving the king overwhelmed with grief at her loss.

Santanu was afterwards involved in another love-adventure. Going to a wood near Yamuna, he was struck with a delicious smell, and on looking whence it issued, discovered a girl beautiful as a goddess. On inquiry he learned that she was daughter to the king of the fishermen, and having declared his love, was, according to Hindoo usage, referred to her father. That personage intimated his consent, provided a boon which he was to ask should be granted. The king promised, on condition that it should imply nothing improper. The fisherman then said, "O sovereign of earth, let the son who may be born to you and her be nominated king after you, and, O king, none else!" Santanu, having a son grown to manhood whom he had declared his heir, could not agree, but returned to Hastinapura silent and dejected. The young prince, having for some time perceived that distress weighed on his father's mind, at length addressed him,—"All kings are anxious to contribute to your welfare, why then are you gloomy and sorrowful, absorbed in thought? Why does your complexion fade and your frame become emaciated? Tell me your affliction,

and let me seek a remedy." An answer was given, which the youth soon saw to be evasive. At length, by inquiries at holy men, he discovered the secret, and determined to sacrifice his rights for his father's happiness. He went and announced this resolution to the fisherman. But that cautious personage declared he would trust the prince, but was afraid of his sons, when they should find the throne occupied by one whose right was inferior to their own. The other then declared his resolution to become one of that class of devotees who have no offspring, but spend their lives wholly in efforts to reach the eternal region. Then the apsaras, devas, and rishis, showered down flowers upon him, exclaiming, "He is Bhishma, or the performer of difficult deeds." The father gratefully accepted the sacrifice, and rewarded it with the somewhat singular privilege of dying of pleasure.

The era of the Mahabarat and the Puranas was succeeded at an uncertain but probably considerable interval, by that of "the nine gems," as they were termed by the admiring nation. They are said to have flourished at the court of Vicramaditya, the great monarch and conqueror, and for this reason are referred by Sir William Jones to the century before the Christian era, in which they may be suffered to remain; for though Mr Bentley and others have assigned different dates, the evidence for the former writer's opinion seems still to preponderate. There appear, in fact, to have been another set under Bhoja, a more recent sovereign, with whom, though of less eminence, the early gems have been often confounded. Of them the most brilliant was Kalidasa, the first poet of India of whose works specimens have been laid before the European public. They are of a very different tenor and character from those just quoted; still indeed replete with mythology, and heavenly actors mingling in great numbers among the earthly. They do not, however, make any pretensions to a sacred origin, nor boast of spiritual privileges attached to their perusal; and although the same deities appear on the

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scene, their adventures are not marked by such studied extravagance. The style is more polished, ornate, and filled with richer imagery. Even the Bramins of the present day, while they make the ancient writings the exclusive objects of religious veneration, consider them as poetically inferior; so that Valmiki must yield the palm to Kalidasa. Yet we cannot help thinking, that in some parts of the Mahabarat and the Puranas there is a simple grandeur not attained by the more polished compositions of modern times. The latter, though rich in descriptive imagery, are in their impassioned scenes often studied and artificial, and instead of genuine sentiment present only fanciful conceits.

The most important production of Kalidasa, who may be considered the head of this school, appears to be the Raghuvansu, or the adventures of Raghu, one of the most celebrated of Hindoo heroes. A literal Latin translation has been given by M. Stenzler; and, though it must appear to great disadvantage in passing through such a vehicle into our English prose, yet, as a specimen may be desired, we will select one which will also illustrate a curious feature in their ancient manners. Although in general the choice of a husband for a young lady rested with her parent or guardian, there were instances where females of high distinction were allowed to select for themselves. This was done with peculiar pomp, after a splendid festival distinguished by high religious ceremonies. The suitors were then successively paraded before the damsel, till one appeared on whom she fixed her election. The following passage describes the choice made of Ajas, son of Raghu, by Indumati, then the most illustrious and accomplished princess of India.

"Ajas, being introduced to the assembly of kings met for the purpose of election, beheld those rulers splendidly attired, and rivals in beauty to the gods themselves. When they saw Ajas, whose form Siva, yielding to the prayers of a parent, had rendered lovely as that of Kamadeva, they lost almost every hope of Indumati. The youth ascended by a range of steps to

the throne indicated by Bhoja, as the lion's whelp leaps over the rocky cliffs to the summit of a mountain. When seated on this throne, glittering with gems and covered with the richest cloths, he appeared beautiful as Kartikeya sitting on the peacock. Beauty indeed, in that assembly of kings, shone with a lustre which the eye could scarcely bear, and spread on every side, like lightning among the clouds. But in the midst of all, the son of Raghu glittered superior, as the Parijata among other heavenly trees. The eyes of all the citizens, neglecting the other kings, were turned upon him, as bees, leaving the flowery trees, sit on the fierce elephant, whose temples distil moisture.

"This assemblage of kings, sprung from the families of the sun and moon, were celebrated by heralds skilled in genealogy, while the smoke of burning aloes ascended amid the standards. The clangour of instruments and of hollow shells sounded through the wide circle of heaven, and caused the peacocks in the neighbouring woods to leap high with transport.

"Then the virgin, dressed in her nuptial robes, seated in a chariot with four wheels drawn by a company of men, entered the royal path, which had been left between the thrones. On this girl, illustrious among the beings created by Brama, and the only object of a hundred eyes, the minds of the kings were centred, their bodies only remaining on the thrones. While the desire of all was turned towards her, various actions announced the warmth of their feelings, as the branches of trees are covered with various foliage. One, holding in his hand the stalk of the lotus, turned it in a circle, so that the bees in flying lightly around struck its tremulous leaves; another sportively turned aside his beautiful face, and replaced the garland which, sliding from his shoulder, had stuck in the extremity of his bracelet; a third tore with his nails the pale flower of the ketakí, which he had suspended to his ear as an attraction for the maiden. One, again, moved his hand, whose fingers glittered with gems, as if to adjust his

diadem, though it was in perfect order. Others sought to recommend themselves by different actions.

"Then the eloquent janitress, having learned the races and actions of the kings, led the princess first to the King of Magadha, and said, 'This is the king, holding his seat in Magadha, the defender of those who implore his protection, of deep genius, having gained fame by the love of his people,—by name Parantapas. There are indeed a thousand other kings; but the earth may be justly said to be ruled by him alone, as night, though glittering with stars and planets, is truly illuminated only by the moon. If you accept the hand of this mighty prince, the ladies of Pataliputra, sitting at the windows of the palace, will present to you a delightful spectacle.'

"When she had spoken, the tender maiden, whose crown of manduca flowers, diversified with grain of durvah, had been a little disordered, bending her body, and saying nothing, rejected him.

"The janitress then introduced the King of Anga, whose youthful beauty made him beloved even by the maidens of heaven, adding that Sri and Saraswati, the goddesses of wisdom and virtue, abode with him, and the maiden ought to make a third. But the girl turned her eye from the King of Anga,—not but that he was desirable and she able to discover his merit; but human inclinations are various. The janitress, then addressing 'that most beautiful creature of God, shining with the colour of the interior part of the lotus, eminent for virtue, and endued with fine teeth,' presented to her six other kings, each with a long panegyric and an invitation to accept him; but they all shared the same fortune. At length, the son of Raghus being introduced, she resolved to accept him, but through modesty could not speak. Her aged friend, seeing her thus, slily said, 'My princess, let us go elsewhere.' The maiden cast an indignant glance upon her, then taking in her hands the garland yellow with scented dust, caused it to be thrown round the neck of Ajas. This was a bitter

sight to the kings; but the citizens raised a unanimous shout at the union of two persons endued with similar virtues. On one side were the joyful friends of the accepted lover, on the other the sad circle of the kings; as in early morning the *nelumbia* expand their flowers on the lake, while the wood of the water-lilies is buried in slumber."

The Megha Duta or Cloud Messenger is another important work of this poet, the design of which is extremely simple, yet fanciful. A fond husband, separated by fate from his beloved partner, mourns in absence. Seeing a heavy black cloud impending over him, he makes a long address, beseeches it to go as a messenger to his consort, to assure her of his welfare, and announce his speedy return. The poem consists chiefly of this invocation to the moving vapour, in which, as a great space is to be passed over, occasion is taken to introduce the varied scenery of earth and heaven, including numerous allusions to Hindoo history and mythology. The cloud performs its mission, finds the fair matron faithful and sorrowing, and cheers her with agreeable tidings, which are duly fulfilled. Though this poem is accessible to the English public, we cannot refrain from giving as a specimen the description of Ujayin (Ougein) when in its glory.

"What though to northern climes thy journey lay,
Consent to track a shortly devious way
To fair Ujayni's palaces and pride.
And, beauteous daughters, turn awhile aside
Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen.
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been.

Behold the city, whose immortal fame
Glows in Avanti's or Visala's name!
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire;
The fairest portion of celestial birth
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth;
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense, then left to heaven.
Here, as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,

They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower
That joyful opens to the morning hour.
With friendly zeal they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And cool from Sipra's gelid waves' embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace.
Here, should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
Rest from the labours of the wearying way.
Round every house the flowery fragrance spreads;
O'er every floor the painted footstep treads;
Breathed through each casement swell the scented air
Soft odours shaken from dishevelled hair;
Pleased on each terrace, dancing with delight,
The friendly peacock hails thy grateful flight.
Delay then, certain in Ujayin to find
All that restores the frame or cheers the mind."

The dramatic compositions of Kalidasa are equally distinguished, but these we shall refrain to notice till we come to treat of the Hindoo drama.

The bright gem of a much later age was Jayadeva, whose amatory verses have been made known to us by the translation of Sir William Jones. The spirit which breathes in them is different from that which animates the poems of the earlier authors, or even those of Kalidasa. Love with them is a romantic and refined sentiment, imbued even with a devotional tinge, and somewhat resembling that which formed the boast of chivalry during the middle ages. His, on the contrary, breathes the tone of a gay and voluptuous court, where lofty and serious impressions are held in derision, and pleasure in every form is made the chief object of existence. Still, no doubt, mythology in his works, as in every Indian composition, holds a leading place; but avoiding grave and majestic themes, he dwells, like Ovid, on the amorous adventures of the Hindoo deities. Hence Krishna, with his numerous loves, becomes the chief object of attraction, and his courtship of Radha is the theme of a poem which Sir William Jones has translated as a favourable specimen. We extract the following propitiatory address to his mistress, who being offended, not without reason, at some parts of his conduct, had threatened to cast him off.

"Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears. My trembling lips, like thirsty chaioras, long to drink the moonbeams of thy cheek. O my darling, who art naturally so tender-hearted, abandon thy causeless indignation! At this moment the flame of desire consumes my heart. O, grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth! or, if thou beest inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes; make thy arms my chains, and punish me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life; thou art my amaranth; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth; oh, be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful! Thine eyes, which Nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus; oh, tinge with their effulgence these my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of love tipped with flowers! Place on my head that foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear. Spread a string of gems on these two soft globes; let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of life. Say, O damsel with delicate speech, shall I dye red with the juice of alactaca those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown lotus blush with shame! Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed fluttering with fear of thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on thee,—a heart which has no room in it for another; none else can enter it but Love the bodiless god. Let him ring his arrows; let him wound me mortally; decline not, O cruel! the pleasure of seeing me expire! Thy face is bright as the moon, though its beams drop the venom of maddening desire; let thy nectareous lip be the charmer, who alone has power to lull the serpent, or supply an antidote for his poison. Thy silence afflicts me; oh, speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour! Abandon thy wrath, but abandon not a lover who surpasses in beauty the sons of men, and who kneels before

thee, O most beautiful among women! Thy lips are a bandhujiva flower; the lustre of madhuca beams on thy cheek; thine eye outshines the blue lotus; thy nose is a bud of the lila, the cunda blossom yields to thy teeth; thus the flowery-shafted god borrows from thee the points of his darts and subdues the universe. Surely thou descendest from heaven, O slender damsel! attended by a company of youthful goddesses, and all their beauties are collected in thee."

The Hindoo drama was a branch of literature very imperfectly known till the important specimens and analysis furnished by Professor Wilson showed it to be one of great importance. Its productions indeed are very limited as to number when compared to those of European composers; and it seems doubtful if all the plays extant, even including those mentioned in literary history, much exceed sixty. Kalidasa and his most eminent rival have each attributed to them only three, a number strikingly contrasted with the 365 of Antiphanes, and the 2000 of Lope de Vega. In fact the drama never was a regular or favourite amusement of the Indian public. On some signal occasions only, the birth or marriage of a prince, or a festival in honour of some great deity, a piece was composed and represented; and when such an occurrence took place, the greatest poets were called upon to contribute. But though some of these productions possess distinguished merit, the authors had no opportunity of acquiring that nice tact, as to dramatic power, which is formed by repeated exhibition before a critical audience. This defect must have been farther increased by the circumstance that Sanscrit, with a sprinkling of Pracrit, continued to be employed even after they had long ceased to be vernacular. Hence, on the whole, the beauties are rather poetical than dramatic; the plot is deficient in movement and variety, and, though fervent and devoted love be the favourite theme, its expression is rather that of imagination than of passion, and degenerates often into mere strings of conceits. The plays are extended to a length which in Europe

would be considered wearisome, the usual number of acts varying from five to ten, and in one instance reaching to fourteen. As no more than one, however, was ever exhibited at a sitting, the tax upon Hindoo patience was not much heavier than is often made on a London audience.

A very voluminous mass of dramatic criticism has been produced in India, though, it is remarked, only since the decline of actual compositions, which it has had no effect in reviving. These writers divide their small number of plays so minutely into classes that several consist of not more than a single specimen. With equal nicety are enumerated all the various characters that ought to enter into each, and the tenor and conditions of the plot. The two principal classes are the Nataka, in which the hero must be a monarch, demigod, or deity, and the subordinate characters of corresponding rank; and the Prakarana, where the subject is taken from common life in a respectable class of society. The one nearly answers to our tragedy, the other to our comedy; but under the former head, even in the Nataka, Indian rules do not admit of a tragical termination. The incidents, however, are of a deep and serious character; much distress is endured in the course of it; and subordinate characters may even be killed, though this must be so managed as not to take place before the audience.

Like all other Hindoo compositions, these are deeply stamped with mythological ideas; demigods, heavenly nymphs, and even high divinities, often appearing on the scene. At the commencement, a religious benediction is pronounced on the audience; though none of these pieces boast a celestial origin, or are referred to the period when the sacred books were composed. They appear to have originated in the gay era of Vicramaditya, and in this as well as in narrative poetry Kalidasa holds the highest name. His Sacontala, translated by Sir William Jones, first made known to Europe the existence of a dramatic literature. It bears nearly the character already given to this class of Indian compositions; hav-

ing, as a poem, very considerable beauties, but not the spirited action, or glow of feeling, which gives interest and character to a play. The following passage, in which Prince Dushmanta seeks to express the most devoted passion, consists in a mere series of conceits :—

"O, God of love! how can thy darts be so keen, since they are pointed with flowers? Yes, I discover the reason of their keenness ;—they are tipped with the flames which the wrath of Hara kindled, and which blaze at this moment like the Barava fire under the waves: how else couldst thou, who wast consumed even to ashes, be still the inflamer of our souls? By you and by the moon, though each of you seems worthy of confidence, we lovers are cruelly deceived. They who love as I do, ascribe flowery shafts to thee, and cool beams to the moon, with equal impropriety; for the moon sheds fire on them with her dewy rays, and thou pointest with sharp diamonds those arrows which seem to be barbed with blossoms. Yet this god, who bears a fish on his banners, and who wounds me to the soul, will give me real delight if he destroy me with the aid of my beloved, whose eyes are large and beautiful as those of a roe."

On the other hand, some of the descriptive passages, especially those which relate to celestial objects, possess a lofty, solemn, and pleasing character. In another part of Sacontala, the prince, descending from an excursion to heaven, thus interrogates his guide :—

"Say, Matali, what mountain is that which, like an evening cloud, pours exhilarating streams, and forms a golden zone between the western and eastern seas?

"*Mat.*—That, O king! is the mountain of Gandharvas, named Hemacuta; the universe contains not a more excellent place for the successful devotion of the pious. There Casyapa, father of the immortals, ruler of men, son of Marichi, who sprang from the self-existent, resides with his consort Aditi, blessed in holy retirement.

"*Dushmanta.*—May I approach the divine pair, and do them complete homage?

" *Mat.*—By all means.——

" We now enter the sanctuary of him who rules the world, and the groves which are watered by streams from celestial sources.

" *Dushm.*—This asylum is more delightful than paradise itself: I could fancy myself bathing in a pool of nectar.

" *Mat.*—Behold the retreat of the truly pious!

" *Dushm.*—I see with equal amazement both the pious and their awful retreat. It becomes indeed pure spirits to feed on balmy air in a forest blooming with trees of life; to bathe in rills dyed yellow with the golden dust of the lotus, and to fortify their virtue in the mysterious bath; to meditate in caves, the pebbles of which are unblemished gems; in this grove alone is attained the summit of true piety."

From another drama, " The Hero and the Nymph," elegantly translated by Mr Wilson, we extract the description of a heavenly maid reviving out of a swoon.

" Have patience; she recovers, though but faintly.
So gently steals the moon upon the night,
Retiring tardily; so peeps the flame
Of evening fires through smoky wreaths; and thus
The Ganges slowly clears her troubled wave,
Engulphs the ruin that the tumbling bank
Had hurled athwart her agitated course,
And flows a clear and stately stream again."

Elsewhere the hero, being deserted by his love, addresses all the animals that roam the forest to give him some tidings of her. Here is his address to the elephant:

" Chief of the mighty herd, say, hast thou seen
My love? Like the young moon her delicate frame,
And with eternal youth her beauties glow;
Her voice is music; her long tresses wear
The jasmine's golden hue. Hadst thou afar
Beheld her charms, they must have fixed thy gaze.
Ha! he replies! That kind assenting roar
Conveys some intimation. Oh! repeat
That sound! consider that we should befriend
Each other, bound by various common ties:
Thou art the sovereign of the forest: Me
They term the king of men. Thy bounty sheds
Thy frontal fragrance on the air: My wealth
On all is showered profuse. Amongst the bands

Of lovely nymphs, obedient to my will,
One only, Urvasi, commands my love;
As thou hast chosen this thy favourite
From all the herd. Thus far our fates accord;
And never be the pangs of separation,
Such as distract my bosom, known to thee.
Propitious be thy fortunes! Friend, farewell!"

Bhavabhuti, who flourished about the eighth century, ranks as second only to Kalidasa, and as a dramatic poet nearly equal. Though without the same rich flow of imagery, he seems to surpass him in energy and simplicity. Two of his plays have been translated,—the Uttara Rama Cheritra, containing the adventures of Rama and Sita from the Ramayana, and Malati and Madhava, founded on a love-story of a more domestic nature, and between human objects. After all, he is no stranger to the mode of expressing passion by fanciful conceits, and has done so, we suspect, in more instances than Mr Wilson's fine taste has chosen to follow him. He admits, at least, the omission of one long passage, of which he gives the following abstract:—

" Madhava observes that Malati is as firmly united to his heart as if, 1. Sewed to it with the strong threads of recollection. 2. Pinned to it with the shafts of Kama. 3. Melted in it. 4. Reflected by it. 5. Inscribed or engraven on it. 6. Set or planted in it. 7. Fixed to it by diamond glue."

Yet there are passages in which this writer displays more of simple and genuine feeling than is usual among his countrymen. The following are the reflections of Rama at the view of a cottage where he had lived in retirement with his beloved Seeta, now lost to him:—

" Scenes of repose, with lavish nature graced;
Haunts undisturbed of timid birds and deer;
Streams decorated with the untrodden fringe
Of flowery blossoms and luxuriant creepers,
I know ye well. Yon distant wavy ridge,
Like a faint line of low descending clouds,
Defines Prasravana, whose lofty crest
Was once the vulture-king Jatayu's seat,
And from whose sides precipitously falls
The broad Godaveri. At the hill foot,
And on the margin of the stately wood,

Where the dark trees, upon whose branches, bowed
Into the shining stream beneath, the birds
Sang sweet and oft, our leafy cottage stood.
Alas, how changed my fortune! Sad I pine,
In lonely widowhood—affliction sheds
A deadly venom through my veins—despair,
Like a barbed arrow shot into my heart,
There sticks, and rankles in its cureless wound.
Let me beguile the hour, and try to lose
The memory of my sufferings, as I gaze
Once more on these dear scenes. Yet even they
Are not unchanged: where once the river flowed
A verdant bank extends, and where the trees,
Close wove, denied admittance to the day,
An open champaign bares its breast to heaven.
Scarce could I deem the spot the same, but still
The mighty landmarks tower aloft, and round,
The same tall mountains mingle with the skies.
How may I dare to look upon these woods
Alone, without my love, with whom my days
Were once within their confines passed in peace,
And happy converse in our humble dwelling!"

Malati, about to be sacrificed on the altar of one of the cruel Indian divinities, thus expresses herself:—

"Unpitying sire, thy hapless daughter dies!
Mother beloved, remorseless fate consigns
Thy gentle heart to agony. Revered
And holy dame, who lived but for thy Malati,
Whose every thought was for her happiness,
Thy love will cause thee long and bitter anguish.
Ah! my dear friend Lavangika, to thee
But in thy dreams I henceforth shall appear.
* * * *
Ah! Madhava,
Lord of my heart! Oh may I after death
Live in thy memory! They do not die
Whom love embalms in fond and long remembrance."

In the following lines a wild goblin scene is very powerfully painted:—

"How the noise,
High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites,
Communicative, fills the charnel ground!
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky:
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze; or from their mouths, that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes, or beards, or brows, the radiance streams.
And now I see the goblin host: each stalks,
On legs like palm trees, a gaunt skeleton,

Whose fleshless bones are bound by starting sinews,
And scantly cased in black and shrivelled skin:
Like tall and withered trees by lightning scathed
They move, and as amidst their sapless trunks
The mighty serpent curls, so in each mouth,
Wide-yawning, rolls the vast blood-dripping tongue."

Mr Wilson has also given another drama, entitled Mudra Rakshasa, which is entirely of a political nature, and relates to one of the most memorable events of Indian history—the usurpation of the throne of Palibothra by Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks. It exhibits a series of conflicting manœuvres between two great ministers, and affords a striking picture of the winding and tortuous policy on which oriental statesmen place a false pride, though redeemed in some degree by deep and devoted attachment to a master, even in his utmost adversity. Both these qualities have been remarkably exemplified in the history of that country in recent times. Though it wants the rich imagery which adorns the former dramas, it has more of the truly dramatic character, being distinguished by a well-connected chain of incidents, a manly vigour of thought, and a business-like tone of sentiment.

The last we shall mention is the "Toy-cart," a very long *Prakarana*, which may be classed with our genteel comedy. It includes a spirited succession of events exciting considerable interest, and affords a very curious insight into the train of Hindoo manners and ideas, of which strangers, always excluded from intimacy with this singular people, never can see or describe more than the surface. One very strange character is Vasantasena, a courtesan, who, though the infamy of her profession be admitted, is yet represented as pious, gentle, amiable, and the pride of Ujayin. A tender passion arises between her and Charudatta, the hero, who figures as almost a perfect character. They are married; his former wife welcomes her as a sister, his son as a mother. A similar condition of things was not unknown in Athens, and arose probably in both countries from the same cause, the seclusion and ignorance to which virtuous females

were doomed, whence the accomplishments and information suited to their sex were accessible only to the profligate. It is stated that the public feeling in India has now become more correct, so that such a connexion would in the present day be deemed disgraceful.

The power of superstition over the national mind is strikingly exemplified in the hero, who is represented as both virtuous and intelligent; yet, being summoned before a court of justice on an unjust charge, he takes alarm at the following omens :—

> " Facing the sun, on yonder blighted tree,
> The bird of evil augury is perched.
> Ha! on my path the black snake sleeping lies :
> Roused from his slumber, he unfolds in wrath
> His spiry length, and, threatening, beats the ground
> With bulk inflated, whilst his hooded neck
> Expands, and from between his venomed fangs
> Protrudes his hissing tongue. I slip, yet here
> No plashy mire betrays my heedless feet,—
> Still throbs my left eye, and my left arm trembles;
> And still that bird in flight sinistral cries
> To warn me of impending ill. Yes death,
> Terrible death awaits me !"

The doctrine of transmigration is curiously woven into the whole train of ideas. On the heroine being supposed dead, a spectator exclaims :—

> " —Poor Vasantasena! may thy virtues
> Win thee, in after life, a happier portion;
> And may the days of shame, and death of violence
> That thou hast suffered in existence past,
> Ensure thee honoured birth, the world's regard,
> And wealth and happiness in that to come."

The same tenet appears sometimes to exercise a salutary influence. A servant asked by his master to commit a crime, says,

> " Her will gives servitude to him, to you
> A master's sway; yet in a future being
> Your affluence may his portion be assigned,
> And yours to do submissively his bidding."

The power of conscience is strikingly expressed by another, similarly tempted, and when asked, " Who shall see you ?" replies—

"All nature: the surrounding realms of space;
The genii of these groves, the moon, the sun,
The winds, the vault of heaven, the firm set earth,
Hell's awful ruler, and the conscious soul:
These all bear witness to the good or ill
That men perform, and these will see the deed."

Stories of common life, in the vernacular tongue, form also a very extensive part of Hindoo literature. Mr Wilson, who in the Oriental Quarterly Magazine, published at Calcutta, has given some interesting specimens, considers them as even more numerous than could be found in any European language, previous to the last century. The principal collection, called the Vrihat Katha, contains many of great merit, presenting in some cases the basis of those which, translated from the Arabian and Persian, have attracted the admiration of Europe. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the national veneration of the Bramins, popular writers have not hesitated to exhibit that class of men in a ridiculous and even odious light. Among comic narratives, the following may be considered a favourable specimen:—

An ascetic, who professed to have imposed upon himself a vow of perpetual silence, lived in great repute at Sakermika. He subsisted on charity, had many mendicant disciples, and occupied with them a conventual dwelling, with a temple attached. At the house of a pious banker, who held the holy man in great reverence, he was accustomed to receive alms, and had thereby frequent opportunities of seeing his daughter, a girl of extraordinary beauty. Her charms made an impression upon the recluse; and allowing his passions to master his vows, he long meditated by what means, without betraying his hypocrisy, he might get her into his power.

Having at last devised a promising scheme, he repaired to the house of his benefactor, and received the usual donation from the fair hands of the damsel. At his departure, he exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by the father, "Alas, alas, that such things should be!"—an expression that in itself, as well as implying a violation of the mendicant's supposed vow, could not fail to excite

the banker's curiosity. He therefore followed him to his cell, and asked what circumstance had induced him to break silence on that occasion. The other replied, with some hesitation and affected distress, "Regard for you, my good friend, overcame my solemn obligations. I read in your daughter's countenance a sad reverse for you; whenever she marries, yourself, your wife, and sons must inevitably perish. This conviction forced from me the exclamations you heard. If you have any affection for your family, put your daughter by night into a basket covered with leather, place a lamp upon it, and thus offer her to the holy Ganges." The banker, who implicitly trusted to the words of this deceitful hypocrite, went home in an agony of fear and affliction, and when night came, followed the injunction.

"The ascetic, at the same hour, directed his disciples to repair to the river, and if they saw a basket with a lamp to bring it ashore to him, prohibiting them rigidly from inspecting its contents. They obeyed his commands. But in the mean time a rajpoot, walking upon the bank, was struck by the appearance of the floating light, and with the aid of his servants brought the basket ashore before the current had conveyed it to where the mendicant's followers were stationed. Having opened it and found the maiden, to his great surprise and delight, the rajpoot conveyed her to his house, which was near at hand, and, learning her story, determined to expose and punish the ascetic. He therefore substituted a fierce baboon for the damsel, and, fastening the basket again, committed it to the current. It was then taken possession of by the mendicants, who agreeably to orders carried it unopened to the convent. He commanded them to place it in his chamber, then go to rest, and on no account to approach his cell whatever noises they might hear, as it was his design to pass the night in some very solemn and momentous mysteries.

"They obeyed; and the ascetic, being thus at liberty to accomplish his purpose, secured the door of his cell, and eagerly opened the basket. He had scarcely done

so when the baboon sprang upon him, and bit and scratched him unmercifully. It was in vain that he called for assistance,—his disciples were too mindful of his previous injunction to venture near him. At last with much difficulty, and after the loss of his nose and ears, he contrived to get out of his cell and alarm the other inhabitants of the domicile, by whose aid he was extricated from the clutches of his savage assailant. His secret, however, was divulged, and by next morning was spread throughout the town. The banker gave his daughter to her deliverer; and the ascetic was glad to make his escape from a place where his iniquitous schemes had exposed him to universal derision and contempt."

Metaphysics, or the philosophy of mind, form in India a very favourite object of study; being connected with the abstruse tenets of their religion, and with that abstraction from active life which its precepts inculcate, and which an absolute government imposes on the great body of its people. A greater independence of mind has been displayed upon this subject than any other upon which Hindoo thought has been exercised.

The earliest system, and that still viewed as almost exclusively orthodox, is contained in the Vedanta, though introduced there as a secondary object, and subservient to religious doctrine. The existence of spirit is recognised as essentially distinct from and superior to matter. They hold even the remarkable opinion, that "one only existent soul is distributed in all beings; it is beheld collectedly or dispersedly, like the reflection of the moon in still or troubled water. Soul, eternal, omnipresent, undisturbed, pure, one, is multiplied by the power of delusion, not of its own nature."

This, in its entire state, forms the great soul of the universe, whose attributes, as already observed, they describe in very lofty yet sometimes fanciful terms. Thus, it is said, "The omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe, is essentially happy. He is the

brilliant golden person seen within the solar orb and the human eye. He is the ethereal element from which all things proceed, and to which all return. He is the light that shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, every where throughout the world, and within the human person. He is the breath and intelligent self, immortal, undecaying, and happy." The question, however, arises, how this one great soul can be broken down into that multitude of minute, detached, and not very enlightened ones, which we see around us. In answer, these are compared to the images of the sun reflected amid broken waves, which, though multiplied and divided, are still the same, and yet are exhibited without the lustre of that luminary being dimmed; or they are likened to sparks flying out from a great fire, and again falling back. Under this view, the first object for all finite minds is reabsorption into the supreme and universal essence from which they emanated. "Life," it is said, "is uniformly regarded by the Hindoos as a state of bondage and evil, escape from which, finally and for ever, is a consummation devoutly to be wished." To attain this is the object of those practices called Yoga, which are followed by the higher orders of devotees, and consist in abstracting the senses from all external objects, suppressing the breath, standing in painful attitudes, and fixing the thoughts in intense meditation upon the supreme essence; at the same time repeating *om* and other mystic syllables. They believe that until these means prove efficacious, the soul, like a flickering light or a flying spark, migrates from place to place, and from body to body, but cannot rise above its earthly condition.

The Vedanta philosophy, however, found at an early period a powerful rival in the Sankhya system introduced by Kapila, a sage so venerable, that he has even been considered an incarnation of Vishnu. It may be regarded as ranking the highest in Indian estimation; and he and his followers do not admit it as inconsistent with the Vedanta; yet it is considered as only half orthodox, and

its perusal cautiously restricted to faithful Bramins. No writings of Kapila himself appear to be extant; and the standard authority is that of Iswara Krishna, who received them through two intermediate hands. In our former edition, we had only the analysis made by Mr Colebrooke; but the original of Krishna has since been given at length by Mr Wilson. It consists, indeed, only of sixty-nine metrical sentences, and these are admitted to be very obscure. Among the numerous commentaries, however, the professor has appended the oldest and most esteemed by Brashya, adding extracts from others, and observations by himself, which are still more valuable. With all these helps, we doubt if we have formed any very distinct notion of this system, and still more if we can convey an idea of it to our readers. That author concurs with the Vedanta in maintaining the separate existence of soul, yet differs from it in asserting that a multitude of souls exist instead of one only. He dwells much on what he terms the subtile person or body, which is thus defined:—"Subtile bodies, and such as spring from father and mother, together with the great elements, are three sorts of specific objects. Among these the subtile bodies are lasting; such as issue from father and mother are perishable." He afterwards adds, "Subtile body, primeval, unconfined, material, composed of intellect, with other subtile principles, migrates, else unenjoying."

Upon the whole, it would seem that this substance is conceived by him as something intermediate between mind and matter, which remains entire during transmigration. He proceeds to another grand distinction between the *discrete* and the *indiscrete*, which are thus defined:—"A discrete principle is causable; it is inconstant, unpervading, mutable, multitudinous, supporting, mergent, conjunct, governed. The indiscrete one is the reverse." This is far from clear; but, in a general view, it would seem that the latter term is applied to ethereal and eternal natures, as contrasted with those that are material and transitory. Hence the grand deliverance is to be accomplished for man, by the indiscrete throwing off

the discrete. "As people engage in acts to relieve desire, so does the indiscrete to liberate the soul." This is proposed to be effected, however, more rationally than under the Yoga system, by goodness, and still more by knowledge. "By virtue is ascent to a region above; by vice descent to a region below; by knowledge is deliverance; by the reverse, bondage." Yet after the grosser elements have been purged off, there remains still attached to soul something which he calls nature; but her deliverance is effected with little trouble; for, "as a dancer, having exhibited herself to the spectator, desists from the dance, so does nature desist, having manifested herself to soul. On her departure, the grand result takes place, which is truly startling: "The conclusive, incontrovertible, one only knowledge is attained, that neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor do I exist." The author then asserts, that "this abstruse knowledge, adapted to the liberation of soul, wherein the origin, duration, and termination of beings are considered, has been thoroughly expounded by the mighty saint." This conclusion certainly affords room for M. Cousin to infer, that the result of the system is "absolute nihilism." Mr Wilson attempts to prove that this could not be the author's intention, and explains it in a manner which we do not fully understand; but the general idea seems to be, that the soul, on being liberated from nature and the discrete, loses its individuality, and is merged in some great mass of the indiscrete or universal being.

Various other systems have been held by the Hindoo metaphysicians, bearing a striking resemblance to those which have occupied philosophers in the West. Canadé and his disciples agree with Epicurus in representing the world as formed by the concourse of atoms. The doctrine that all things external are mere illusion, and that nothing whatever has any real existence, is held, not in the Vedanta indeed, but by many commentators upon that work. Mr Colebrooke even mentions the prevalence of controversies, which he considers as analogous to those agitated among us, respecting grace

and free-will, and the comparative merit of faith and of works; though we doubt whether the terms used in the two languages can have any exact correspondence.

One of the most valuable portions of Indian literature consists in the fables or apologues, where the imaginary adventures and discourses of animals are narrated with a view to the entertainment and instruction of mankind. The fables of Æsop, and their paraphrase by Phædrus, were the only specimens known in Europe till the introduction of the celebrated collection bearing the name of Pilpay or Bidpai. These were always known to have an oriental origin, and had been supposed to come from Arabia or Persia, till they were discovered in a more copious form in a Sanscrit work, called the Hitopadesa. A considerable part was translated by Sir William Jones, and the original was afterwards published by Mr Colebrooke. Professor Wilson has recently examined and analyzed an earlier and more extensive collection called the Pancha Tantra, which generally coincides with the Hitopadesa. He observes, that amid the almost total absence of historical records, these fables throw some light on the ancient condition of the country. The description, on one occasion, of the court of the King of the Crows, appears exactly to represent that of the native princes during the period of their greatness. But the chief value of these compositions consists in the maxims of conduct and rules of life; for it must be confessed that, in Sanscrit, rats and crows often express themselves more judiciously than either gods or men. Our readers may probably be pleased with a few specimens:—

"Riches are not easily acquired, and when acquired are with extreme care preserved; when death comes they are gone; be not therefore anxious for wealth."

"The poisonous tree of this world bears two fruits of exquisite savour, poetry sweet as nectar, and the society of the good."

"As a stone is raised with great labour up a mountain, but is thrown down in an instant, so are our virtues acquired with difficulty, and our vices with ease."

"Let an ambassador be the king's eye, in surveying his own and every other region, and in discerning what is practicable and what is impracticable."

"The vicious, notwithstanding the sweetness of their words, and the honey on their tongues, have a whole storehouse of poison in the heart."

"There is no union between the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the wicked; but the thoughts, words, and actions of the good, all agree."

"The truly great are calm in danger, merciful in prosperity, eloquent in the assembly, courageous in war, and anxious for fame."

"Danger should be feared when distant, and braved when present."

"Every one looking downwards becomes impressed with ideas of his own greatness; but looking upwards, feels his own littleness."

"As a mound of earth raised by the ants, or the sand in the hour-glass, so religion, learning, and riches, increase only by degrees."

"Let not the accidental faults of a real friend interrupt your friendship; the body, though it may contain sores, cannot be abandoned."

"The allotted days and nights of human life, like a current down the sides of a mountain, pass away not to return."

"Union even with the body is a broken one; need we wonder then that no union on earth is indissoluble?"

Satirical.—"A young wife is more dear to an old man than life itself; but a young wife never loves an old man; she merely waits upon him, and considers him a nauseous draught."

"Kings, women, and climbing-plants, love those who are near them."

"Riches are every thing: a rich man is always surrounded with friends, feared as powerful, and honoured as learned. The poor, though possessing friends, power, and learning, are despised."

"A servant if he be silent is called a fool; if eloquent,

a madman or a prattler; at hand, an artful fellow; at a distance, a bad attendant; if patient, a coward; if he cannot endure bad treatment, an arrant rascal: the duty of a servant is extremely hard, and not performable even by saints."

All the works which give lustre to Hindoo literature are of very high antiquity, most of them probably written at the distance of more than 2000 years. Modern productions do not even aim at the same lofty objects, and are said to consist chiefly of dictionaries or works on grammar and law. There are still, however, many schools where Sanscrit is taught. In Benares alone Mr Ward enumerates upwards of eighty; but each was attended by only from ten to thirty students, and the teacher, instead of exacting fees, affords to his pupils board as well as instruction gratuitously. He is compensated by the respect paid to his character; by donations for the support of his establishment; and by invitations to feasts, where he shares the presents, which are most lavishly bestowed. The seminaries where such youths are received, usually built by alms, are mere clay-huts, which, though containing eight or ten apartments, may be erected for seven or eight pounds.

But a new feature has been introduced into the intellectual character of the Hindoos by the cultivation of English literature. The minds of the more opulent and intelligent natives resident at Calcutta have been improved by intercourse with enlightened strangers, and particularly the Serampore missionaries, who have deeply studied their language and antiquities. This disposition to extend their researches beyond the limits of native books, has been strengthened by their conviction of the superiority possessed by the Europeans in arms, arts, and policy, and by the acknowledged equity and mildness of their government. Not only have many of our standard classics been translated, and literary societies formed after our model, but several natives have composed works of merit in the English language, both in

prose and verse; among whom may be particularly mentioned Rammohun Roy, a distinguished individual, who, taking the lead in this pursuit, sought to extend his knowledge by visiting this country. The prevalence of this desire appears very strikingly in the recent establishment by Hindoos, for their own use, of an English newspaper, entitled the Reformer, which, in the second number, contains the following remarkable passage:—

"Whatever may be the opinion of those who advocate the continuance of things as they are, there will come a time when prejudice, however deep and ramified its roots are reckoned to be, will droop, and eventually wither away before the benign radiance of liberty and truth. Our ideas do not now range on the surface of things. We have commenced probing, and will probe on, till we discover that which will make us feel that we are men in common with others. We cast off prejudice and all its concomitants, as objects abhorrent to the principles which are calculated to ennoble us before the world. Assisted by the light of reason, we have the gladdening prospect before us of soon coming to the standard of civilisation, which has established the prosperity of the European nations. Let us then, my countrymen, pursue with diligence and care the track laid open by these glorious nations. Let us follow the ensign of liberty and truth, and, emulating their wisdom and their virtues, be, in our turn, the guiding needle to those who are blinded by the gloom of ignorance and superstition."

This desire to improve themselves by an acquaintance with European literature has, it is true, been hitherto confined chiefly to Calcutta; but that city, being now considered as the capital of India, is likely soon to give the tone to the rest of the empire. Indeed the light which has been elevated there already begins to radiate to the great towns in the upper provinces. At the same time it cannot be concealed, that it has encountered in some quarters a violent opposition; such studies having been represented as at variance with the fundamental

principles of Hindoo learning and religion. The very language is denounced as utterly unfit to be known by a Bramin; who, if he should unguardedly utter, while officiating on any solemn occasion, one word of this unholy tongue, would instantly render the whole ceremony profane and useless. Still we have little doubt that, under the continuance of the mild government of Britain, the enlightened views inspired by intercourse with her citizens will be gradually disseminated, and that the influence of a purer religion will raise the inhabitants of this vast empire to a higher rank in the scale of society than they have ever yet attained.

CHAPTER VII.

Hindoo Manners.

National Character—Government—Village System—Castes—Bramins—Cshatryas—Vaisyas—Sudras—Mixed—Loss of Caste—Pariahs—Various Estimates of Hindoo Character—General Result—Decoity—The Thugs—Domestic Life—Females of India—Modes of spending Money—Detached Hindoo Tribes—Rajpootana—Her Nobles—Bards—Princesses—Infanticide—The Jharejahs—Nayrs of Calicut—Bheels—Tudas—Mohammedan Population—Parsees—Jits or Jauts.

There are certain features in national character which not only discriminate one people from another in distant parts of the globe, but also the same people from their immediate neighbours, that may be generally traced by an attentive observer, though many circumstances render the delineation of them extremely difficult and uncertain. The distinguishing peculiarities are blended with others that are common to mankind in general. The task, besides, requires that nice observation which is possessed by very few writers, and which, in all cases, is easily biassed by passion and prejudice. Hence the character of the Hindoo has been drawn in very opposite colours, according to the suggestion of those party impressions, which in this case are perhaps stronger than in regard to any other people. Before attempting to balance and estimate such conflicting testimonies, it may be advantageous to bring into view some leading distinctions which influence the national character. The outlines of their religious system have already been traced, and we have now to consider their political arrange-

ments, and the peculiar *castes* and classes into which society is divided.

The Hindoos appear to have been always ruled by despotic governments, and for many ages their subjection to a foreign race, wholly differing in religion, manners, aspect, and language, has been singularly humiliating. Even the native princes, who have retained or recovered a certain degree of power, exercise a prerogative uncontrolled by any established rights or privileges. The only check has been one of a very irregular kind, arising from the turbulent sway of the inferior chiefs, whose influence over their immediate vassals is frequently exerted to support their own authority, which is not less absolute. Still, amid this corrupting despotism, traces are found of a system purely republican, existing in the villages which, over all India, have an internal constitution entirely distinct from the general rule to which the country at large is subjected.

A village, or rather township, is formed by a community occupying a certain extent of land, the boundaries of which are carefully fixed, though often disputed. Sometimes it is cultivated by the united labour of the inhabitants; but more usually each ploughs his separate field, leaving always a large portion of common. Assignments of land are also made to various functionaries, who are charged with important public services. The principal personage is the potail, or head-man, who acts as judge and magistrate, and treats respecting their particular affairs with other communities, or with the national rulers. Other duties are intrusted to the registrar, the watchman, the distributor of water, the astrologer, smith, carpenter, potter, barber, washerman, and silversmith. Whatever change the supreme authority in the kingdom may undergo, into whatever hands it may pass by inheritance, usurpation, or force of arms, whether its sovereigns be native or foreign, the constitution of each township remains unaltered; no revolutions affect it, and no conquest changes it. Even when an overwhelming invasion or desolating inroad has compelled its mem-

bers to leave their native seats, and to spend long years in exile, upon the first dawn of tranquillity they hasten back, and resume without resistance or contest their ancient inheritance. These numerous republics, maintained in the centre of a powerful despotism, have doubtless contributed largely to the prosperity which India has enjoyed; and yet they are too much scattered to exercise any permanent check on the absolute power of the princes and chieftains, who dispute among themselves the mastery of that extensive region.

The next grand feature, and one now peculiar to India, consists in the division of the people into *castes;* an institution which has long effected a separation among certain orders of society as complete as if they had belonged to different species, and which, though its power, owing to an increasing intercourse with the English, is beginning to be shaken, still continues immense. The four castes proceed in a descending scale,—the Bramins, the Cshatryas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. It is religion, or rather a slavish superstition, by which these extraordinary distinctions are sanctioned, and at the same time reconciled and cemented so as to preserve from disorganization a community in which certain interests are kept in immutable subordination. The sacred books represent the Bramins as having issued in the moment of creation from the mouth of Brama, the Cshatryas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, while the Sudras drew their ignoble origin from his foot. Accordingly, while the first enjoy a rank almost equal to divinity, the latter are denied the rights and the place of human beings.

It must appear a remarkable circumstance, and is perhaps owing to the long subjection of India to Moslem dominion, that while the priestly or Braminical order are held in such unbounded veneration, no tax is levied, no lands assigned by government for their support, no provision even is made for the supply of their most urgent necessities. Considerable donations have indeed been granted to the brotherhood by charitable indivi-

duals, yet they still profess to be mendicants subsisting solely on alms. The youthful Bramin, as soon as he is invested with the poita or cotton thread, which distinguishes his order, begins to ask alms of his parents and of the surrounding company. Yet this situation, which would appear to sink them beneath every other class, is perhaps the chief cause which has led to their exorbitant acquisitions. Depending chiefly on the opinion and favour of the multitude, they are sometimes tempted to employ the most unwarrantable arts for securing and extending their influence. "A Bramin," said one of their fraternity to M. Dubois, "is an ant's nest of lies and impostures." They cherish in the people all those debasing superstitions to which the mind of man is prone; while they exalt, in an extravagant degree, the dignity of their own place and office, as well as the merit of those who confer donations upon them. The sacred books are filled with relations of the miraculous powers exerted by them in drying up the sea, vomiting fire on their enemies, and trampling on the most powerful deities. Krishna is introduced as humbly presenting a party of them with water to wash their feet; and a story is diligently recited concerning one of their number who gave the most opprobrious reception to Brama, Vishnu, and Siva, when they came together to wait upon him. The laws not only pronounce the murder of a Bramin to be of deeper atrocity than that of any other individual, but punish as crimes the most trivial slights offered to that sacred class. If a Sudra presume to sit down on the carpet belonging to one, the part thus sacrilegiously deposited is either burnt with a hot iron or entirely cut off. If he spit upon such a hallowed person, he is deprived of his lips. If he listen to reproaches against him, melted lead is poured into his ears. If he pluck him by the beard, the hands committing this outrage are forfeited. But to treat Bramins with honour, and confer gifts upon them, are actions of distinguished merit, atoning for almost every sin. In the great festivals, when the opulent occasionally make a

display of their wealth, the leading object is to collect a number of these holy men, and send them away loaded with presents. At entertainments given by kings, they are seen in thousands. Mr Ward mentions one bestowed, during Mr Hastings' administration, by the dewan at Moorshedabad, where there were said to be present no fewer than 600,000 of that order. Large bequests of land, cows, and other precious effects, are made to them by the pious. So far, indeed, do they rank above every other class, that the daughter of the poorest Bramin is taught to consider a king as no equal match for her; and the peishwa, when he was at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and held the most commanding station of any Indian sovereign, was long excluded from eating at table with any one of high caste.

The Cshatryas, or military class, are second in dignity, and bear even somewhat of a sacred character. During the era of Hindoo independence, not only generals, but even kings were chosen from this body; though, since the subjection of India by foreign powers, they have suffered a very severe depression. They have even been induced to imitate the costume and manners of Mussulmans, by whom, under the Mogul empire, all commands and dignities were engrossed; and notwithstanding the limited nature of the promotion which they can obtain in the British service, they enter it in considerable numbers. The only powerful body of this class now remaining are those who, under the name of Rajpoots, occupy the wild tracts of country bordering on the Western Desert, whom their valour and the strength of their natural fastnesses have secured from complete subjugation even by the Mogul. These, however, form a peculiar tribe, whose habits and character will be noticed hereafter at greater length.

The Vaisyas rank third, and belong to the industrious part of the community; but their functions are not very distinctly or consistently explained. By some they are said to be traders, by others shepherds and cultivators. Their proper employment seems to be the carrying on

of any business requiring the investment of capital, but of which the manual labour is performed by inferiors.

The Sudras stand lowest in the scale of castes, and suffer a degree of degradation greater than befalls any other class of persons not actually bondmen. They are not only doomed to severe and unremitting toil, but as far as possible are debarred from improving their circumstances. Any attempt on their part to accumulate property is declared to be unlawful, and to give pain to Bramins. Their spiritual prospects are equally clouded. Scarcely can they hope to reach heaven, or even by the process of transmigration to attain any higher condition on earth. They are not permitted to perform a single religious ceremony, and are exposed to a severe anathema for merely opening a page of the Vedas, the most ancient and revered depository of divine knowledge. Their only hope of emerging from contempt is by profound homage, lavish gifts, and menial services to the sacred caste. By such actions the Sudra may raise himself above his fellows, though he cannot, either in this or a future life, make any approach to the dignity of the superior classes.

The original and appropriate occupation of this caste is agricultural labour ; yet certain grades or subdivisions are also found, who exercise the various trades and handicrafts necessary in an improved and luxurious society. These, comprehended under the general appellation of the *burren sunker*, are reported to have sprung from the irregular mixture of the higher orders, and form, according to Mr Colebrooke, a species of outcasts ; but, in general estimation, they hold nearly the same rank with the Sudras. Great estrangement prevails among these classes, many of whom will not visit or hold the slightest intercourse with each other. Their employments are invariably transmitted by hereditary descent from father to son ; but though they thereby acquire great mechanical skill, they never attempt to vary their method, nor make any improvement on the models derived from their ancestors.

Hard as is the lot of the Sudra, it is enviable in comparison with that of him who, born to the most exalted rank, forfeits it through misconduct, accident, or the most trivial inadvertence. Tasting food or holding communication with persons of inferior caste, dealing in certain commodities, eating particular kinds of food, are the chief among those deadly sins, which subject their perpetrator to as dreadful a doom as can befall a mortal. To swallow, however involuntarily, a morsel of beef, converts at once the most revered Bramin into a despised and miserable outcast. He forfeits his patrimony, and is excluded from all the courtesy and charities of life. "The loss of caste," says an intelligent writer in the Friend of India, "is the loss of the whole world. Henceforth the offender can see no more the face of father, mother, brother, or sister, nor even of his wife or children. They will fly from his presence as from one infected by some deadly distemper." So insupportable is this fate accounted, that a great proportion of those who incur it either seek refuge in suicide, or fleeing into remote exile and becoming wanderers over the earth, hide themselves from the view of those who had beheld them in the honours of purity.

In the south, and particularly in Malabar, is found a race named Pariahs, upon whom is entailed by birth this state of utter degradation. They are supposed by M. Dubois to constitute a fifth of the population of these countries, and are employed only in offices which the meanest labourer belonging to any caste would disdain; as scavengers, and in the rudest descriptions of country labour. They usually inhabit a suburb or district without the walls of the cities, which, from accumulated filth and the carrion hung up to dry in the sun, presents a disgusting spectacle. The nayr, or Malabar noble, accounts himself polluted by the touch or even the close approach of these unfortunate fellow-beings; nay, in such a case, he is legally authorized to kill them on the spot. The Pariahs therefore find it necessary to prevent such a meeting; and if they happen to enter a path

which may render it inevitable, they must announce their presence by uttering certain sounds, that the great man may be warned of the impure object with whose contact he is threatened. Bands of them often take their station at a little distance from the highway, "howling like hungry dogs," and imploring the passenger to deposite some coarse viands which they may afterwards approach and take. They are rendered the more odious to the purer classes by their filth, their eating indiscriminately every description of food, and by other excesses usually shunned by Hindoos of respectability.

In estimating Indian society, as modified by these institutions, we may remark one circumstance which seems at first view to give it some superiority over that of Europe. Here rank is constituted by the possession of birth, riches, and power. A character for wisdom and virtue, indeed, renders a man respectable in his station; but, unless it also procures him wealth or title, will not raise him to a higher. In Hindostan, on the other hand, rank is constituted by having at least the reputation of learning and piety. Wealth and power, even in the greatest degree, though they make a man conspicuous in his caste, do not elevate him above it; and yet, though the principle seems just, it is applied in a manner so absurd and indiscriminating as to degrade instead of raising the mass of society. The distinction is not formed by any reference to the actual possession of these qualities, but is confined by birth and an imaginary celestial origin to a privileged class, who, in order to preserve their own superiority, studiously exclude all others from any participation in their advantages. The Bramin, instead of striving to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, interdicts all their attempts to attain it; instead of pointing the way to heaven, he shuts it against them. His priestly ministrations are limited to the performance of a round of unmeaning ceremonies, and do not aim at conveying to the people any instruction either religious or moral. The high consideration, accordingly, which he enjoys in virtue of his supposed sanctity and wisdom,

only makes him seek to monopolize these qualities, and to debar his fellow-citizens from even endeavouring to acquire them.

Having thus surveyed the leading circumstances which influence the habits and character of the Hindoo, we may be prepared to estimate the accuracy of the judgments pronounced respecting them by different observers. These have been various and contradictory to a greater degree, perhaps, than in regard to any other nation; for, in this case, a strong bias has often arisen from good motives and feelings. At first the gentle address of the Hindoo, his simple habits of life, his literary monuments, rendered venerable by mystery and antiquity, suggested the idea of a refined and amiable people. At the same time his wrongs and long oppression beneath a foreign yoke made him the object of deep interest and sympathy. But a closer inspection dispelled this prepossession, and went far to substitute one directly opposite. The administrators of civil and criminal justice became gradually familiar with many bad features in the national character; and dark scenes of violence and iniquity were from time to time disclosed, that ill accorded with the meek and passive spirit usually ascribed to it. The Christian missionaries, again, inspired with a laudable zeal in their high function, felt perhaps an unnecessary anxiety to exalt it still higher, by representing the natives as more immoral than other pagans. These writers found an able auxiliary in Mr Mill, whose extensive researches justly attach the greatest importance to his opinions, but who, in detecting the errors of his predecessors, has unquestionably leant towards an opposite extreme. It is somewhat surprising to find Mr Hastings foremost in panegyrizing the natives of India; but that celebrated statesman, though compelled perhaps by the urgency of circumstances to sundry acts of oppression, always showed a disposition to befriend the body of the people, and had gained a great share of their attachment. He describes them as "gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them than

prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth. They are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority. Their temperance is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food, and their total abstinence from spiritous liquors and other substances of intoxication." According to Heber, "they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations; generally speaking, faithful to their masters; easily attached by kindness and confidence; and, in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity, in life and death." This excellent prelate maintained always the most friendly intercourse with the people; and the amiable tone of his feelings and manners would tend to draw forth whatever was best in their disposition; yet he admits that their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations, and where these do not exist they are oppressive, cruel, and treacherous. For these bad qualities he considers their system of religion, and their exclusion from the moral lessons which even their sacred books inculcate, as mainly answerable. Mr Mill, on the contrary, endeavours to show that all the virtues ascribed to the Hindoo consist in mere outward seeming, and are often in direct opposition to his real conduct and propensities. Mr Ward sums up the character of that people as "destitute of generosity, patriotism, and gratitude; as disobedient to parents, grossly impure, false, litigious, cruel, treacherous, covetous, ostentatious, destitute of compassion." The most recent statement is that made to the Board of Control by Rammohun Roy, who is entitled to be heard on the subject of his own countrymen. According to him, "the peasants or villagers who reside away from large towns, and head stations, and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate, and moral in their conduct, as the people of any country whatsoever." He admits, however, that the

inhabitants of the cities and large towns, those holding much intercourse with foreigners and with persons employed in legal proceedings, are much inferior in point of character, and "very often made tools of in the nefarious work of perjury and forgery." His opinion, that the difference is owing to the strong impressions of religion prevalent in the former class, but which are effaced among the latter, does not coincide with that of Bishop Heber, and can only be regarded as a theory.

Between statements thus conflicting it must be difficult to form an impartial estimate. It may be observed that the Hindoos are universally represented as displaying a polished, courteous, and engaging address, such as in Europe distinguishes only persons of the first rank. On a closer view, however, this appears to be little connected with warmth of heart or the feelings of real friendship; little even with genuine refinement of character. It is rather the result of the entire subordination of the different ranks to each other; for every man in India has superiors whose favour it deeply concerns him to gain—before whom he must suppress his sallies of temper and passion, and exert all his powers of pleasing. Every circle is thus as it were a court; a sphere of life excellent as a school of manners, but rarely the abode of sincere and genuine affection. The Hindoo, like the courtier, appears imbued with a thorough selfishness, viewing the mass of mankind only as instruments to promote his own interest and that of his immediate connexions. Within the domestic walls, however, he manifests strong impressions both of duty and affection. For the chief to whose service he has devoted himself, and who has gained his attachment, he appears bound not only by strong ties of honour, but by an enthusiastic fidelity, to which he adheres often in the utmost extremity. The preceding history has exhibited repeated examples among the greater chiefs of immovable faithfulness in adversity, chequered, it must be owned, with some instances of the basest treachery and desertion.

Such an entire absence of a regard for truth, as to

make it impossible to rely on a word which he utters, is a charge made by all who have had any intercourse with the Hindoo, especially in judicial proceedings. Notwithstanding the force of his religious feelings and prejudices, no oath, however adapted to his creed, is sufficient to bind him. Complaints of the universal prevalence of perjury are reiterated from so many quarters,—by Sir William Jones, Sir James Mackintosh, and other enlightened and philosophic judges,—that it is impossible to doubt of their being well founded. Witnesses brought forward in a good cause endeavour to support it by such palpable falsehoods, that the tribunals are often obliged to acquit the guilty, whom they cannot convict but by means of this impure evidence.

One of the circumstances most inconsistent with our idea of the harmless and gentle character of the Hindoo, is the extensive prevalence of *decoity* or gang-robbery; a system of plunder deeply rooted in the habits of this people. The bands of decoits resemble on a smaller scale the numerous troops of Mahratta and Pindaree freebooters. They are not, like European robbers, bold desperadoes, who set at defiance the order and laws of society. On the contrary, they form a part of that order; they are sanctioned by those laws which, in the ancient codes, apportion the spoil between the marauders and the state. Even under the British government, which denounces against them rigorous penalties, they calculate on their dexterity for eluding detection, and live in the heart of the villages, where their practices are well known, but which scarcely render them the less respected. These persons do not usually commit depredations on their immediate neighbours, or within the limits of their own village territory. They issue forth in organized bands under regular chiefs, to attack the inhabitants of some distant quarter. In their progress they press into their troop all who can render any service, threatening instant death in case of refusal. The timid natives, on their approach, are struck with dismay, and seldom attempt resistance, but either flee or endeavour to avert

the violence of the assailants by unconditional submission. In their eagerness to extort hidden treasure, they have recourse to modes of torture more inhuman, if possible, than those already described as practised by the Pindarees. In particular, they are accustomed to apply lighted straw and torches to the body, or, having twisted round it hemp covered with clarified butter, set it on fire, so as to cause the most exquisite suffering. At their departure they utter dreadful menaces against such as may take any steps to expose or bring them to justice. On one occasion, after several persons, who had denounced two robbers, had been murdered, a decoit chief entered a village with an earthen pot in his hand, and called out :—" If any body tells that the four informers were taken off last night, I will tie this pot round his neck and drown him ; I will cut him and his wives and children to pieces. I am Moolea ; you know me, and you know that I will be as good as my word." The terror inspired by such threats, the difficulty of bringing evidence before English courts, and the facility of retreat into the deep jungles by which many of the provinces are bordered, enabled them long to baffle the efforts of government. They appeared even to increase, threatening to annihilate the security of property, and convert the country into an extensive desert. The administration, however, roused to the most vigorous exertion, have in later times effected a very material reduction in the number of those banditti. About the year 1814, indeed, they were almost entirely put down ; though they have since to a certain extent revived.

The bands now described had been long known to exist, and carried on their operations almost openly and avowedly. But since this work was first printed, another association has come to light, of a darker and more fearful character, by which assassination, for the purpose of plunder, has been long and most extensively practised. These are the Thugs, called also Phansegars, a body who, like freemasons, communicate by secret signs, and have regularly organized a system of murder. This is

practised chiefly upon travellers, who in India are particularly numerous. They are induced to leave home by marriages and other great family festivals, annual fairs, and above all by religious pilgrimage. To defray the expense of such a journey, with the customary presents and offerings, they usually carry a sum of money, often the accumulated savings of a long period. They travel slowly on foot, or if mounted, their horses or other cattle perform the whole journey without being changed. Hence, being often obliged to stop for the night at spots where no lodging can be procured, they hesitate not to halt in the vicinity of a well, and, wrapped in their garments, consign themselves to sleep.

It had been long observed how large a proportion of these wanderers never returned. The friends at home, however, had little means of tracing their lengthened routes, and considered them as having fallen victims to accident, to the malaria of the jungles, or the fury of wild beasts. A number of sepoys allowed to go on furlough never rejoined their corps, but were supposed to have perished or deserted. Many dead bodies were indeed discovered under suspicious circumstances; and in the district of Etawah alone, sixty-nine were taken out of wells in the course of two years. Yet even when the murderers were detected, they were believed to be merely detached bandits; and the existence of an organized system, though asserted by some, was generally discredited. At length events occurred which removed all doubts.

Near the village of Bordah, the remains of two men were found, dreadfully lacerated by tigers. On examination, it appeared that they had been dragged from an adjoining spot, which was then found to contain three other bodies newly dead, but neither torn nor wounded. Hereupon the resident at Mehidpoor sent a party of mounted police, who came up with a band of very suspicious appearance. To avoid a desperate resistance, they merely charged them with smuggling opium, and insisted on their returning to undergo a search at the nearest village. The men, conscious of their innocence

on this ground, submitted, but on entering the village, they soon perceived by the excitement of the people, who eagerly aided the police in securing them, that their characters were fully suspected. After loud protestations of innocence, and seeing that these obtained no credit, one of them determined to save his life by turning informer against the others. On receiving a promise of pardon, he laid open the whole of this dark mystery of iniquity.

The Thugs endeavour to effect their diabolical object by the most peaceable means, and under the mask of friendship and kindness. Their object is to induce the traveller to join their encampment, or perhaps to obtain permission to encamp beside him. They move in bands of twenty or thirty, under the absolute guidance of a chief, and with special functions assigned to each. Some precede the rest, acting as scouts or spies, and endeavouring to allure the unwary. The favourite time of action is about twilight, when they have taken their station for the night. A social party is formed, and when confidence and gayety have been fully established, the chief gives the watchword, usually very simple, when the bhurtote or executioner takes the roomaul, a slip of wetted cloth twisted at the end into a noose, throws it round the victim's neck, and in a few minutes despatches him. This is preferred to a cord, as being less liable, on discovery, to excite suspicion. During the operation, cries are drowned by singing and beating of tom-toms; and it has been performed in the close vicinity of a village without exciting any alarm. Meantime, some of the others have prepared a grave, into which the body is hastily thrown; and to prevent suspicion from the newly stirred earth, a fire is kindled above. Though this be the favourite course of proceeding, they do not hesitate, with superior numbers, to attack in the open road, and if they have not time for interment, cut the body into pieces, pack them up, and convey them to a more convenient spot. There are not wanting convenient bankers who advance money on the credit of their

expeditions, though charging exorbitant interest. They are sometimes annoyed by persons gaining possession of their secrets, and extorting large sums as the price of silence; in this case, as little time as possible is lost in giving him a final quietus with the roomaul. Many, it is said, bred from their infancy to this crime, show scarcely any sense of its enormity, which, like many others in India, is sanctioned by religion. A goddess, who must be Kali or some one akin to her, is considered as directing all their actions, and covering them with her protection; and the bhurtote or chief performer passes through a solemn and mystic initiation into his high functions.

As soon as the British government became fully satisfied as to the existence of this horrid system, the most vigorous measures were adopted for its suppression. Lord W. Bentinck, on the 7th January 1835, appointed agents in the different districts; in the Saugor and Nerbudda, being the chief station; in the Doab, including Rohilcund; in Jubbulpore, including Rajpootana; and in the Deccan. With such activity were operations carried on, that in the course of that year 600 Thugs were at one time brought into Agra. In the end of 1836, it was estimated that 2000 of them had been arrested, 1470 tried and condemned, 382 hanged, 909 transported, 77 imprisoned for life, 92 imprisoned for certain periods, and 21 acquitted. Nearly 250 had been admitted as king's evidence. Much, however, yet remained to be done in the south of India, and also in Orissa, Bahar, and even Bengal. The Thugs of this last province, estimated at 300 strong, were found the most difficult to deal with.

Domestic life, a most important branch of the social condition of any people, is peculiarly interesting as it applies to the Hindoo, whose regards are in a great measure confined within his family circle. The jealous character of oriental despotism views with aversion all public assemblages; it checks even that mingled intercourse among mankind which we call general society.

With the exception of great men, whose vanity is gratified by public display, the Hindoo forms few connexions beyond those of his own household. Marriage, the basis of family ties, is considered not only desirable and agreeable, but absolutely indispensable. A youth of twenty-five and a girl of fifteen unmarried, are regarded as not less particular than unfortunate. Mr Ward mentions a party of old maids, who, to escape from this reproachful condition, united themselves in marriage to an old Bramin, as his friends were carrying him to die on the banks of the Ganges. Yet the felicity enjoyed in the matrimonial state corresponds very little with the anxiety that is felt to enter it, for the laws and institutions doom the fair portion of the species to the most depressed and pitiable lot. Every avenue by which an idea could possibly enter their minds is diligently closed. It is unlawful for them to open a book; they must not join in the public service of the temples; and any man, even their husbands, would consider himself disgraced by entering into conversation with them. The degradation of the wife is rendered deeper by the despotic power which usage grants to the mother-in-law, who regards her son's spouse as little better than a slave. Hence a rupture often very speedily ensues; the bride, unable to endure her bondage, flies back to her parents, and refuses to return unless the lady of whose tyranny she complains makes the first advances towards a reconciliation.

The females of India dress with simplicity, and prefer long flowing robes, which give them an elegant and classical appearance; but on extraordinary occasions they delight to adorn themselves profusely with trinkets and jewels. They live in general a retired and recluse life in the interior of their houses, and it is considered a breach of decorum for a man even to look at them. On the death of their husbands, they either sacrifice themselves on his funeral-pile, or, unless they choose to forfeit altogether their caste and social relations, remain ever after in a state of widowhood. Both Grant and Ward intimate their belief, that this exterior

Indian Females.

decorum occasionally veils much criminal intrigue. That irregularities, magnified by scandal, do sometimes occur in the great and luxurious cities, is exceedingly probable; but, as it is rare that the practice of a whole people is at direct variance with their profession, we incline to believe, with the Abbé Dubois, that fidelity to conjugal vows usually marks the deportment of the Hindoo female. The conduct of the sex in one respect, indeed, presents a painful contrast; for religion, which ought to be the chief guardian of purity, is so wholly perverted, as to sanction, on their part, words and actions the most depraved.

The Hindoos are active and industrious, eagerly bent on the accumulation of wealth; and though wages are low, and the labouring class extremely poor, yet capital, partly perhaps from its insecurity, yields very high profits. Hence many of those who have been fortunate in their mercantile or money-lending speculations, attain very great wealth. Scarcely any part of this is expended in the daily enjoyments and accommodations of life, which in almost every rank are simple and cheap in the extreme. They live in low mud-houses, eating on the

bare ground, having neither tables nor furniture; a practice which is followed by the richest and highest as well as the lowest. Their dwelling is a shed, the walls are naked, and the mud-floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. They distribute food among the indigent, but never entertain their friends at dinner. It is only on some few and rare occasions that the rich give a superb fête, to which hundreds, and even thousands, are invited; and even then the expenditure in food and drink is inconsiderable, being averaged by Mr Ward at eightpence ahead. But the cost is immense in fireworks and processions, and in profuse donations of money, garments, and other gifts, to those present, especially to Bramins. It is impossible, therefore, to celebrate what is called a respectable marriage at a smaller cost than £500 or £600, and it has been known to exceed £12,000. The savings of years are thus dissipated in one day of extravagance; and a family, which was in comfortable circumstances, may be plunged into poverty and even debt by the marriage of one of its members.

Notwithstanding the similarity which stamps the inhabitants of Hindostan as one people, there are tribes distinguished by peculiarities so striking that some notice of them is necessary to complete the view of her social condition. Among these the most remarkable are the Rajpoots, the only large class of natives who, amid so many revolutions, have preserved an almost complete independence, and thus present a picture of what that country must have been long before it was subjected to a foreign yoke.

Rajpootana, Rajasthan, or Rajwarra, is a mountainous territory of considerable extent, situated at the south-western extremity of the magnificent plain which is watered by the Ganges and Jumna. It is chiefly marked by the long range of the Aravulli, which, beginning at the frontier of Guzerat, extends north-north-east to the borders of Delhi. On the western side it descends into the district of Marwar, whose arid surface

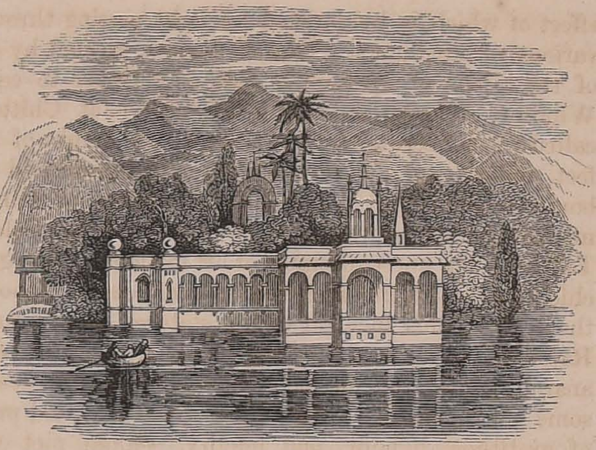
is gradually confounded with the Great Desert. On the east it slopes down into a prolonged table-plain, forming the district round the city of Ajmere, and the territories of Mewar, Kishenghur, and Jyepore; while still farther in the same direction, and on a lower level, are the states of Boondee and Kotah, passing into the plain of Malwa. Aboo, the loftiest pinnacle of this chain, looks down from its eastern side upon the champaign country of Mewar, with its capital Oodipoor, long the most flourishing of these states, and whose princes still hold the highest rank of any in India.

Although this territory bordered so closely on the centre of the Mogul dominion, the warlike character of its inhabitants secured it from conquest. Akbar, indeed, overthrew their armies and reduced their capital, Chittore; but they afterwards recovered their strength, and their princes in general rendered to the emperor nothing more than homage and feudal service. Sometimes they commanded his armies, of which their cavalry in many instances composed the main strength; retaining, meanwhile, the exercise of their internal government almost uncontrolled. When Aurengzebe, by his persecuting zeal, had driven them into rebellion, he sustained several reverses which darkened the latter period of his reign; but after his death the Mogul power, sinking into rapid decline, scarcely made any farther attempt to preserve dominion over Rajpootana. The rise, however, of the fierce and lawless Mahrattas exposed them to greater calamities than they had yet endured. Scindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan, aided by internal dissension, ravaged their fields, sacked their cities, and caused the death of some of their noblest chiefs. They sought relief in British alliance; but this connexion having been dissolved by the political system of Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, they were again exposed to the inroads of their predatory neighbours. At the breaking out of the Pindaree war, Rajpootana presented a scene of great desolation. After the triumphant issue of that contest, Britain extended her full protection to

these states, which have consequently begun to revive, and regain their former prosperity.

This region has a social and political character very different from that which we denominate Oriental, and bears more analogy to the state of Europe during the feudal ages. Its petty princes carry the distinction of birth to an extravagant height, and boast a loftier origin than can be claimed by the proudest families of the West. The revolutions which swept away successive races of kings and nobles from the great plain of Hindostan, never effected any permanent change among the brave inhabitants of this mountain-territory. Its rulers trace their genealogy to the earliest sovereigns and deified heroes, who, according to national belief, reigned once on earth and now in heaven. The chiefs of Marwar exult in a line of male ancestors for 1300 years, during part of which period they held sway in Kanouge, and formed perhaps the most powerful dynasty that was ever known in native India. The sovereign is said to have been able to bring 600,000 troops into the field; and on one occasion he proposed a marriage for his daughter, at the celebration of which the humblest offices of the hall were to be performed by kings. The blood of the Rajpoots is therefore considered the highest and purest in the East. To form a matrimonial alliance in the family of one of these petty chieftains was a subject of pride to the Great Mogul; who, although he ruled over almost the whole of India, was scarcely esteemed a fitting match for the haughty dames of Rajpootana.

The political system of these states is by no means distinguished by that implicit submission to the will of one ruler, which forms the general basis of Eastern government. There is a class of *rahtores* or nobles, who claim almost as high a descent as the ranas or sovereigns, and some of them intermarry with the royal family. They hold lands, some by original right, others by grant from the crown; but all with a great measure of independence. They are divided into three orders, one with estates above 50,000 rupees, who rank as the hereditary



Island Palace of Jugmundur.

advisers of the crown, but reside chiefly, like the feudal barons of Europe, in their strong castles, and appear at court only by special invitation upon solemn occasions. The two inferior classes, one having from 50,000 to 5000 rupees, the other below 5000, are required to give constant attendance and service. The monarch is invested with the entire legislative power, unchecked by any parliament or assembly of his subjects. His authority is consequently much less limited than was the royal prerogative in feudal times, and his revenues are ampler, being derived from hereditary demesnes, mines, and customs on merchandise. He is thus enabled to indulge a degree of pomp beyond what would seem compatible with his narrow territories. His palaces equal those erected by the greatest monarchs. Particular admiration is attracted by the splendour of Oodipoor, situated in one of the most picturesque and romantic valleys of India, and having its long range of towers reflected from the bosom of a beautiful lake. On the border of a similar expanse an almost magic scene is presented by the palace of Jugmundur, composed entirely of marble, of which an engraving is given on this page. A great part of the floors are inlaid with mosaic, the

effect of which is heightened by light passing through variously-tinted glass. That of Umeer, erected by one of the rajahs of Jyepore, is stated by Heber to equal Windsor. The great column of victory at Chittore, called the Kheerut Khumb, rising to the height of 122 feet, and covered all over with the most minute and elaborate sculpture, in which all the objects of Hindoo mythology are represented, is considered by Colonel Tod to be the finest specimen of art in India. The great chiefs also reside in stately and splendid castles; though the deadly feuds incident to this state of society render Rajpootana a scene of constant turbulence, and almost of anarchy. Yet the character of these leaders presents some noble features. They have given repeated proofs of gratitude, honour, and fidelity, seldom met with among the effeminate inhabitants of the plain, or the roaming and predatory bands of Mahrattas.

As a representative of this extraordinary race, Colonel Tod has exhibited Nahur Khan, "the tiger lord," the fierce, brave, and faithful adherent of Jesswint Singh, chief of Marwar, a commander who, both in serving and opposing Aurengzebe, showed himself one of the greatest that India can boast. Nahur led the van in all Jesswint's battles, and by his promptitude to submit to the loss of life, on an occasion connected with the most atrocious superstition, acquired the epithet of "faithful of the faithful." Jesswint, through the pressure of deep remorse, had become subject to a temporary alienation of mind, imputed by the magicians to the operation of an evil spirit, which being exorcised, was said to declare that the chief could only be restored by some one suffering death as a voluntary sacrifice. Nahur Khan instantly offered himself as the victim. The magicians, however, saved him, by pretending that the spirit had descended into a vessel of water, which being swallowed by Nahur, the reason of his illustrious master resumed its seat. At another time, Jesswint, in a fit of rage, ordered his faithful chief to be thrown into the den of a tiger, there to contend, unarmed, for his life. But

Nahur presented to the monster so firm an aspect, that it turned away; when the brave commander observed, that honour forbade him to attack an adversary who would not look him in the face. On another occasion, when employed against Soortan, also one of the most gallant of these chieftains, with a chosen band, he surprised him in the dead of night, stabbed a solitary sentinel, and having bound the warrior to his pallet with his own turban, sounded the alarm, that the surrounding clansmen might see their master carried off without daring to attempt his rescue.

Jesswint conveyed his captive to the Mogul court, to introduce him to Aurengzebe. Soortan was accordingly instructed in regard to those prostrations required of all who were ushered into the presence of the great ruler of India. But he said "his life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." Jesswint was considerably embarrassed, having given him a solemn pledge of honourable treatment, which he could now scarcely expect to have the power of redeeming. The master of the ceremonies, however, endeavoured to obviate the difficulty, by preparing for the chief's entrance into the presence-hall a species of wicket raised a little from the ground, and so small, that it was thought he could not pass through it except in such a position as might be interpreted into an expression of homage. But Soortan, advancing his feet first, effected his entry, so that the head appeared last, and in a position the reverse of that which he was desired to assume. Aurengzebe, who had no mean vanity, was so pleased with his noble bearing, and so amused with his ingenious disrespect, that he offered him a gift of lands to attach him to his service: but the other desired only to be restored to the wild hills that surrounded his castle of Aboo, and his wish was gratified.

These features, though bold, are somewhat rude; yet there are others in which the Rajpoots appear under a more polished aspect than the barons of the feudal ages.

There exists, in Colonel Tod's apprehension, no period of their history in which the chief could not have written his name, and even celebrated his own achievements in verse. The Charuns, or bards, sometimes are venerated as beings more than human. The donations presented to them are immense: on one occasion six "lords of verse" received £10,000 each. A caravan placed under their protection may pass in safety through countries that are the theatre of the most bloody war and devastation. If an attack is threatened, they inflict on themselves a wound, and, showing the blood, menace a dreadful vengeance on the adversary who dares to persevere. A similar expedient is often employed at weddings or festivals, to extort extravagant gifts.

The Rajpoots do not subject the female sex to that thraldom and degradation which is the reproach of the Hindoo husband. The ladies of rank are, indeed, somewhat secluded, but more from state than jealousy: they are well educated, and often possess a large share of information. Colonel Tod, who had the opportunity, though separated by a curtain, of conversing with several of the *bhyes* or princesses, found them extremely intelligent, and well acquainted both with their own interests and those of their country. Wrongs sustained by females of rank have been among the chief causes of their frequent wars. One custom is peculiarly stamped with the refined and romantic gallantry of the middle ages. A young princess, who fears an impending danger, sends to any youth whom she esteems the present of the *rahhi* or bracelet, with some simple ornaments fastened to it. He becomes then her "bracelet-bound brother," whose pride it is, at the peril of his life, to defend a maiden whom probably he never saw. Yet the very dignity attached to the sex involves them in singular calamities. Scarcely have their eyes opened to the light, when a large proportion of the female children are doomed to death by their unnatural parents. This dreadful crime has been imputed to superstition; but Colonel Tod traces it solely to the difficulty, and above all the expense, of marrying

young ladies of this high rank. To remain single is considered worse than death; but the spouse of a Rajpoot must be of pure and high blood on both sides, and must not bear to him the most distant relationship. Whether a match in these and all other respects suitable will be procured, becomes a matter of extreme uncertainty; and even if it is found, there remains another consideration calculated to excite serious uneasiness. Marriage is the occasion on which every Indian makes his greatest display of pomp, wealth, and generosity. Not only must all the ceremonies be costly and splendid, but Bramins, bards, and others, attend, who expect to be loaded with magnificent gifts. The prince feels that his reputation depends on the manner in which he is celebrated by these august personages, who assure him, that while his treasury is emptied the world is filled with his praise. A single nuptial feast is sufficient to involve a flourishing exchequer in bankruptcy. One prince, indeed, made an attempt to check this profusion by a law, enacting that the expenditure on such an occasion should not exceed one year's entire income of the estate; but the vainglory of the nobles could not be confined within these limits. A still more tragical fate, at every period of life, impends over the females of Rajwarra. In the deadly feuds of these turbulent tribes, if the wives and daughters of a vanquished chief fall into the hands of the victor, they become, according to a law similar to that of ancient Greece, concubines or slaves to the enemy of their house. This catastrophe in these proud families is deemed intolerable; and when the last extremity arrives, death by their own hands, or those of their nearest kindred, must save them from it. The repetition of such events causes their life to be held cheap whenever interest or honour appears to require its sacrifice. While resident in Guzerat, General Walker, with his characteristic benevolence, endeavoured to persuade the chiefs of that country to renounce the practice of infanticide, and enjoyed at one time a prospect of success, which, however, proved ultimately fallacious.

The Jharejas, a Rajpoot tribe who hold sway in the territory of Cutch, are, by an intricate operation of the system of caste, placed in such a situation that they cannot by any means find a single individual with whom a daughter of theirs can be suitably matched. In this dilemma they have not hesitated to adopt the horrid expedient of putting to death all their female children; so that, as Mrs Elwood mentions, in a population of 12,000 there were not in 1818 more than thirty women alive. The infants are either drowned in milk, or poisoned by opium applied to the breast of the mother. The English have made vigorous attempts to abolish this inhuman practice. By a condition of the treaty with Cutch in 1819, full protection was guaranteed to the Jhareja chiefs on their consenting to discontinue this criminal custom. Since that time it has not been perpetrated openly; but the interior of palaces and castles affords ample means of concealment; and the very small number of girls in families makes it too clear that it still prevails extensively. The Jharejas, with this exception, are described by Mr Burnes as a fine people; and he did not even observe that their excessive use of opium had much debilitated either their minds or bodies.

India contains other detached races marked by striking peculiarities; but none of them so important as to influence the general aspect of society, and therefore not requiring minute description. The nayrs of Calicut have been repeatedly brought under the reader's notice on account of their valour, their aristocratic pride, and inhuman contempt of the Pariahs or outcasts. A more unusual distinction is found in the custom by which ladies of quality may without reproach select as many lovers as they incline, provided their birth be suitable; in consequence of which the legitimacy of all the members of a noble family becomes more than problematical. In order, therefore, to prevent the succession from passing entirely to another blood, heritage both in royal and noble houses descends, not to the son, but to the sister's son.

The Bheels or Bhills are a predatory tribe who stand at the very opposite extreme of Indian society. They occupy the rugged cliffs and defiles in the mountain-border of Malwa, Rajpootana, and Guzerat. Though plunder be their "being's end and aim," they do not pursue it in large bands, or carry their devastation into distant countries, like the Mahrattas and Pindarees. They descend from the hills by night, singly or in small troops, carry off with astonishing dexterity whatever comes within their reach, and return by morning to their usual retreats. They wear no clothes except a piece of cloth round the waist; and, being armed only with bow and quiver, never make an open attack, but shoot from behind rocks and bushes. As they eat beef, and indulge in intoxicating liquors, they have been supposed to be outcasts from the great Hindoo community, and to have taken refuge in these fastnesses; but Sir John Malcolm assigns reasons for believing that they have ancient and original institutions of their own, and at the same time hold the general creed of the country. They claim for the whole tribe a descent from the great deity Siva or Mahadeo, and they pay blind devoted obedience to their dhunnee or chief. A young woman who was examined before an English court respecting a murder with which her father and husband stood charged, confessed that they had committed it; but maintained that it was without blame on their part, as the dhunnee had commanded it. This justification not proving satisfactory to the judges, she repeatedly exclaimed, "They had the dhunnee's order!" and showed equal astonishment and indignation on being informed that this would not entitle them to a full acquittal.

Another native race, altogether insignificant in point of number, are yet extremely interesting, from the light which their manners throw on the earliest state of Hindoo society. The southern boundary of Mysore is for a considerable extent composed of the range of mountains called the Nhilgerries, the loftiest of any in Southern India, and rising at some points to upwards of 8000 feet.

These elevated tracts were not explored by the British till 1819, when the climate, even under the burning skies of the tropic, was found to be almost as temperate as that of England. Its cool and refreshing breezes, with the rich and romantic scenery of hills, lakes, waterfalls, pastoral streams, and valleys, render this country a delightful retreat for the European invalid. Government, accordingly, have formed there a sanitary station, the particulars of which, and of its climate, are given by Professor Jameson in the succeeding volume.* In the highest valleys of the Nhilgerries are found a clan, called Tudas, who do not exceed 600 in number, but are very remarkable, as the only tribe yet discovered who are ignorant of the mythology, language, learning, and manners, so universally diffused over India. They are strangers to the divinities who people the Hindoo pantheon ; even the cow is not esteemed by them as sacred, though they attach certain religious ideas to the dairy, which yields to them one of the most valuable means of subsistence and commerce. Their temples are dark hovels, in which a little shining stone is the only object of worship ; but from these the Bramin is driven by them with anger and suspicion. Their language has some resemblance to the Tamul and the Malayalma which are spoken in the plains below ; but there is not a tincture of that copious infusion of Sanscrit which prevails in these and the other Hindoo dialects. There is therefore some probability that they are indeed the remnant of the aborigines of Southern India ; exhibiting what their ancestors were before they received those institutions which have stamped upon the Hindoo race so peculiar a character.

The Tudas are at once discovered to be a different people from the inhabitants of the plains below. They are tall and athletic, with a bold bearing and long black hair ; their countenance, distinguished by a Roman nose and a large full speaking eye, is sometimes marked

* Vol. iii. chap. viii.

by deep gravity, sometimes animated by a lively and mirthful expression. The women display the same features, with a feminine cast, and have their long black tresses floating over the neck and shoulders. Though modest, they display a frankness and self-possession to which the sex in the low country are strangers; but their appearance is injured by want of cleanliness and an ungraceful costume. They all live in patriarchal simplicity, raising no grain, nor rearing any domestic animal except the buffalo, whose milk yields the ghee or clarified butter, which forms their only exportable produce. They dwell by families in small *morrts* or clusters of huts, migrating from one to another according to the convenience of pasturage. They seem strangers to war, having no weapons of attack or defence; yet their demeanour is hardy and fearless, betokening a sense of superiority to the neighbouring tribes, compared to whom they dignify themselves with the exclusive title of *men*. They are strictly honest, and, without fastening their doors day or night, live in perfect safety. They are reproached with habitual indolence; but the report that they put their infants to death seems yet too slight to fix so deep a stain on their character.

It seems necessary here to introduce some account of the Asiatic races not Hindoo, who have settled in India. These are chiefly Mohammedans, the descendants of the early conquerors, reinforced by successive hordes of Uzbecks and Patans, attracted thither by the hopes of rising to power and fortune. The fall of the Mogul empire nearly annihilated their importance. It converted them into military adventurers, who either swelled the predatory bands, or found employment in the native courts, recommended by their boldness and courage. Mr Prinsep mentions a class called the Punnee Patans, who carried on a singular species of life-insurance. A great man, surrounded by enemies and in danger of assassination, obtained from them a contract to kill any one who might be chargeable with violence towards him; and the knowledge of this engagement,

which they were known to fulfil with scrupulous punctuality, formed a material safeguard to the person assured. The Mussulman character, reserved and simple in private life, but proud and ostentatious in public, has remained nearly unaltered, and its delineation belongs rather to the history of countries where they are still the ruling race. Since the time of Aurengzebe their bigotry has greatly abated. An interesting description of their domestic habits, generally involved in guarded obscurity, has recently been given by an English lady, whom fortune had united to a Mussulman of distinction, named Meer Hassan Ali. The picture greatly resembles the pleasing one drawn by Mr Tully's relative of the ladies of Tripoli; and both represent the inmates of the Moslem zenana in a somewhat favourable light. Though buried in complete seclusion, they are described as mild, cheerful, content with their lot, and even possessing some measure of information.

In consequence of the recent successes of the British arms, the Mohammedans have been dislodged from the Mahratta courts, where they had found shelter, and their predatory bands have been dissolved. Their religion, however, still prevails in the vassal states of Hydrabad and Oude, as well as in the independent one of Sinde.

Another foreign race of considerable importance is that of the Parsees or Persians, the ancient worshippers of fire, long since driven from their native country by the persecuting sword of the Arabs. The fury of that invasion is too clearly demonstrated by the fact, that there remains in their original seats only a small and poor remnant of this once powerful people; while, on the other hand, the refugees in India are numerous and opulent. They take the lead in the commercial transactions of Bombay, Surat, and other north-western ports; indeed they are the proprietors of almost all the houses in the former, obtaining often very high rents from the English residents. Their general conduct is quiet,

orderly, and respectable; though their usual retired habits are combined with that love of occasional pomp and show which prevails so generally among the inhabitants of the East.

The Jits, or Jauts, are a numerous people, occupying the western provinces which border on the Indus. They appear to have emigrated from the great plains beyond the Oxus, and retain still the warlike and pastoral habits of Scythia. We have seen them become formidable by their valour to the great conquerors, as well as to the Mogul rulers of Hindostan. They were originally divided into cantons, under a republican form of government; but they have since owned the supremacy of the Rajpoot states, particularly that of Bikaneer. Tod considers the peasantry of north-western India, as well as the sectarian race of the Seiks, to be chiefly composed of this tribe.

CHAPTER VIII.

British Government of India.

Early Management of the Company—Interlopers—Courten's Association—United Joint-stock—Rival Company in 1698—Union—Constitution of the United Company—Early Settlements—Acquisitions in the Carnatic—Conquest of Bengal—Financial Distress—Plans for its Remedy—Administration of Hastings—Charges against him—Trial—India Bill by Mr Fox—Another by Mr Pitt—Board of Control—Arrangements with Subsidiary States—The Carnatic—The Nizam—Oude, &c.—Terms of the last Charter—Population of India—The Army—Sepoys—Revenue—Mode of levying Land-rent—Judicial Arrangements.

In the preceding history, we have traced the steps by which the Company arrived at their present vast dominion in India: it remains that we take a view of their constitution, commercial and political, and the manner in which they have administered their affairs. This subject, which has given rise to much controversy, is obviously too extensive to be treated here in detail. Referring those to whom it may be an object of particular interest to more voluminous works, we shall endeavour to present an outline satisfactory to the general reader.

The Company for some time were little more than an associated body of private adventurers; the Governor and Directors merely receiving the funds contributed by each individual, managing them according to his suggestion, and accounting to him for the proceeds. But in 1612, by representing the complexity and inconvenience arising out of this arrangement, they prevailed

upon the merchants to unite into what is termed a joint-stock company, where the whole sum subscribed was placed under the control of the Directors, and a dividend conformable to the general results of the trade made among the proprietors. It has been alleged, however, that when zeal was no longer stimulated by individual interest, the commercial transactions were not conducted with the same economy, and yielded less advantageous returns. The Company afterwards involved their affairs in the confusion of different interests. An addition to their capital being from time to time required, was procured by a new joint-stock; and sums were subscribed by fresh bodies of adventurers, which were to be separately managed. Thus, by the year 1650, four distinct subscriptions were formed. Meantime the Directors were harassed, not only by the competition of numerous interlopers, but by demands from respectable merchants to be admitted to a share in this lucrative traffic. The principles of commercial as well as of political liberty now widely pervaded the nation; the Levant and Muscovy trades had been thrown open with the happiest effects; and it was argued that equal benefits would accrue from opening to the nation in general that of India. In 1635, a new association, headed by Sir William Courten, obtained permission from the king, who was allowed a share in the adventure, to embark in an independent trade with that country. But the concern, not being well conducted, could not make head against the hostility of the Company, who advanced multiplied charges against it. At length the privilege was withdrawn; the Directors agreeing to incorporate the capital with their own, and form what was termed the United Joint-stock. Its proprietors, however, in 1655 were empowered by Cromwell to resume a separate commerce. Jealousies were roused to the highest pitch; and, after several warm discussions, it was resolved that the exclusive system should be fully re-established, and that the different stocks, which had led to such confusion, should be consolidated. From this time the

transactions were carried on, if not in a more profitable, at least in a more systematic manner.

During a course of years from this date, though the Company laboured under embarrassment, the general prosperity of the country enabled them to extend their commerce. Their outward investment in goods and bullion, which in 1622 did not exceed £65,000, rose in 1673 to £228,000. This apparent success produced, however, the usual effect of exciting emulation among the rest of the community. In 1683 the plan of a subscription for a new joint-stock was taken into consideration by the king and council, though without obtaining their sanction. After the Revolution the prevailing spirit of liberty rendered the zeal of private adventurers still more active. The Company, however, had influence enough, in 1693, to procure from the crown a charter for twenty-one years, which authorized them to extend their capital from £756,000 to £1,500,000. But the House of Commons the same year passed a vote directly annulling this grant; and that assembly was the more confirmed in their hostility, when, having instituted an inquiry, they discovered that large sums had been paid as bribes to the Duke of Leeds and other public officers. In 1698, a bill was brought into Parliament for the establishment of another company. The principles of commercial legislation, however, being yet in their infancy, this measure was not founded upon any sound or liberal basis. It in no degree threw open the trade, but merely transferred the monopoly from one body to another: and a direct injustice was committed by allowing the new association to commence their operations immediately, though their predecessors were by their charter entitled to a notice of three years before their exclusive trade should cease. Finally,—and this was the real source of their too ample privileges,—the new company agreed to advance to government two millions sterling at eight per cent.; a most preposterous arrangement, whereby they deprived themselves of the capital with which their trade ought to have been car-

ried on. The consequence was, that in their first voyage they were only able to accomplish an investment of £178,000, while their rivals, for the same season, sent one of £525,000. But the old company redoubled their efforts, conducted their affairs with increased prudence and caution, and by their great experience proved themselves superior to their new competitors. The most violent dissensions broke out in India between the rival associations ; each representing the other in the blackest colours to the native powers, who were much disposed to listen to the statements of both. Hence arose an apprehension that the very existence of British trade in India was in peril. It seemed necessary, by some means or other, to terminate this unprofitable conflict ; and, after suitable negotiation, the companies agreed to a compromise, and to act thenceforth under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies. Godolphin, reckoned the greatest statesman of the age, was appointed arbiter, and on the basis of his decision was formed a constitution, which, with slight alterations, has subsisted to the present day. There was nominated a court of proprietors, comprising all who held stock to the amount of £500. These were to meet four times a-year, or oftener if necessary, to make regulations for the management of the Company's affairs, and determine the amount of dividend. They elected a committee of twenty-four, called afterwards the Court of Directors, who, with a chairman, conducted all the details of business and traffic. This was a government purely democratic ; for, though Mr Mill compares the chairman and directors to the king and lords, they had in fact no legislative power nor independent functions whatever ; they were the mere servants of the body of proprietors. Yet the fact is, that, instead of suffering any of the inconveniencies of democratic rule, it has proved almost a complete oligarchy, centring, as might be expected, in the Court of Directors.

In 1730 a strenuous effort was made, by petitions from the chief mercantile towns, to have the Indian trade

thrown open to the nation, allowing the Company to retain the forts and other establishments, and to receive an allowance on the imports and exports. But the latter had influence sufficient to defeat this application, and to procure a farther extension of their charter for thirty-three years.

During this interval the circumstances of the Company underwent an entire and most important change. At first they attempted nothing more than to maintain factories for the accommodation of their agents, and places of deposite for their goods. Sir Thomas Roe, their ambassador to the Mogul court, had strenuously advised them to proceed no farther, and to avoid fortified stations, which, besides involving large expenses, were likely to excite jealousy in the native princes, and to occasion ruinous wars. The marauding character of the Indian chiefs renders it doubtful how far such a plan could have been pursued with safety; and the Company accordingly, as formerly observed, erected several forts. In 1689 they had even conceived the design of establishing dominion in India, and of making revenue one of their sources of emolument; yet down to 1744 they had acquired only a few small districts around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The hostilities which then broke out in the Carnatic had the effect of converting them into a military power, and of rendering them, after various struggles, virtual sovereigns of that part of the country. Much more memorable results arose out of the war in Bengal and the victories of Clive, when they obtained the Dewannee, including the real occupancy of that province, with Bahar and Orissa, forming a territory more extensive, and at that time supposed more opulent, than the whole of Great Britain. This event created an extraordinary sensation, and inspired both themselves and the nation with an extravagant idea of their wealth; their stock rose to 263, and dividends were declared at 12½ per cent. These treasures, however, soon became an object of jealousy and desire both to the people and the government. The question was

mooted, whether any body of subjects could exercise an authority independent of the supreme power; nor were ministers slow to pronounce that the king must be the real and only sovereign of every territory conquered by the British arms. This alarming claim was for the time evaded by an agreement made in 1767, that the Company should annually pay £400,000 into the Exchequer, and reduce their dividend to ten per cent.; upon which they were allowed for two years to retain their Indian acquisitions. In 1769 a similar arrangement extended their power five years longer. But at this epoch a disastrous crisis had arrived in their affairs; and that wealth, supposed so immense, which had excited their own exultation and the envy of the public, proved in a great measure illusory. The revenues of the conquered provinces, though very considerable, were found inadequate to defray the expenses of war, the rapacity of their servants, and the exorbitant dividends which the proprietors thought themselves entitled to demand. Their affairs were now in a state of extreme embarrassment, which they in vain endeavoured to mitigate by loans from the Bank, first of £400,000 and afterwards of £200,000. They were then under the necessity of stating to government their absolute want of an accommodation to the amount of a million and a half sterling. This application placed them entirely at the mercy of the minister; who determined indeed, after some hesitation, to grant the request, but under conditions which might promote both his own influence and that of the crown. His terms were, that the Exchequer should lend £1,400,000 at four per cent., and forego the stipulated annual payment of £400,000 till that debt were discharged. In return the Company were not to divide above six per cent. till that object should be accomplished; and on their extrication from difficulties were to pay to the revenue three-fourths of their surplus receipts at home. The latter point was loudly denounced by the directors as exorbitant and oppressive. In fact, however, it proved very nugatory, since the relief from embarrass-

ment, and the possession of a surplus, proved to be visions that glittered before their eyes but were never realized. The minister followed up this measure by another still more offensive, regulating their constitution both at home and in India. The qualification for a proprietor was raised from £500 to £1000, and only a fourth part instead of the whole of the directors were to be annually elected. Bengal and the territories annexed to it were to be ruled by a governor-general with £25,000 a-year, and four councillors with £8000 each; while law was to be administered by a chief-justice with £8000 a-year, and three judges with £6000. These last were to be appointed by the crown, while the governor and council were to be named in the first instance by Parliament; after which the patronage of these offices was to revert to the directors, subject, however, to the approbation of government. The Company strenuously remonstrated against this proposal as an infringement of their chartered privileges; but as they had to contend with the ministry, and were unpopular with the nation, all opposition on their part was fruitless.

Meantime they were actively endeavouring to repress the disorders which had begun to appear in their Indian dominions. It was with this object chiefly that Clive went out the second time, though circumstances soon afterwards led also to a vast extension of their territorial property. The two primary objects of his mission were, to put an end to the exaction of presents by British officers, who had enriched themselves at the expense of the native powers, and to suppress the internal trade, in a great measure monopolized by them, which had been the source of accumulated evils. The first of these restrictions he enforced with vigour, obliging the officers not to accept a single gift, and attaching severe penalties to the violation of his order. The irregular trade, however, he is said to have partially connived at, with the view of favouring some personal friends, till the repeated commands of the Company left him no choice but to perform his duty.

Affairs remained nevertheless in extreme disorder; and the revenue, an object of such paramount interest, had in no degree answered the expectations of the proprietors. Among the remedies adopted was that of sending out three persons of distinction and experience, Mr Vansittart, Colonel Ford, and Mr Scrafton, under the title of Supervisors, to inquire into the causes of these evils, and suggest a mode of counteracting them. A singular fate befell these eminent personages; for neither they nor the vessel in which they sailed were ever heard of. The measure was not resumed; and on the resolution being formed to appoint a governor-general, Parliament nominated Warren Hastings; a choice which was entirely approved by the directors. That gentleman, in a succession of subordinate situations, had displayed splendid talents, and acquired great experience in Indian affairs. When recently acting as second in command at Madras, he had materially improved that settlement; and the happiest results were accordingly expected from his elevation to the supreme government.

The various transactions by which the administration of Mr Hastings was marked excited in Britain intense interest, and gave rise, after his return, to some of the most memorable proceedings in the records of Parliament. This ardent feeling has long since subsided; the events to which it related not having permanently affected either the extent of the British power or its relation to the native states. A very rapid outline of them will now satisfy the general reader.

The first measure, and perhaps that of the greatest importance, was dictated by the government at home. Hitherto, though our countrymen were rulers of Bengal, the judicial and financial details had been conducted by native officers, who, in their present dependent situation, could no longer command the necessary respect and submission. The English residents too often set the example of insubordination, and the country was reduced almost to a state of anarchy. It was therefore determined to place these branches under British agency, and to

bring them as much as possible under the control of the government at Calcutta. This change was extremely momentous, involving complicated arrangements, of which it was not always possible to foresee the practical consequences. It proved, accordingly, that the new system contained many imperfections; yet the attachment which the natives of India always manifested for Mr Hastings shows that he had not neglected their welfare, and though the alteration could not be acceptable, made it as consistent as possible with their feelings and interests.

He found the pecuniary affairs of the Company at a point of extreme depression, and an anxiety to relieve them involved him in the most questionable part of his proceedings. The situation of the provinces on the Upper Ganges afforded him opportunities which he too readily embraced. The Vizier, or Nabob of Oude, an ally of England, having conceived the design of conquering Rohilcund, and expelling the Patan race by whom it was occupied, solicited aid; offering in return forty lacks of rupees, with the maintenance of the British troops sent to his assistance. The governor-general consented; and the English in this expedition found, as usual, that nearly all the hard fighting devolved upon them, while they had the mortification to see their allies indulge in outrageous acts of cruelty and rapine. This severity has been represented, though without sufficient reason, as producing the entire extirpation of the Rohillas; and the reproach incurred in consequence of it fell to a considerable extent on the European auxiliaries.

In the same quarter, the governor-general availed himself of another somewhat doubtful mode of recruiting the Company's finances. To the individual claiming the still lofty character of Great Mogul, after being driven from the main seat of his government, had been assigned under British protection the provinces of Corah and Allahabad. With the view, however, of regaining possession of his two capitals, he had been induced to form an alliance with the Mahrattas, and even to join their standard. These warriors soon carried him in triumph to

Delhi and Agra; but, according to their custom, made him a virtual prisoner, exercising in his name all the power of the empire. They even obliged him to issue an order for delivering into their hands Corah and Allahabad; though the officer in the immediate command chose rather to intrust them to the English. The governor-general then insisted that the emperor, by going over to the Mahrattas, had renounced his connexion with the British, and annulled their obligations to him. He therefore took possession of those provinces, and sold them to the Nabob of Oude for fifty lacks of rupees; and for the same reason the annual tribute to the Mogul prince was discontinued. By these proceedings, though he did not make any permanent addition to the revenue, he relieved the Company from immediate distress.

He was soon placed in a very peculiar and embarrassing situation. By the new constitution there were associated with him four councillors, of whom he was only the president, with a vote and casting vote; thus making it possible that a hostile majority might hold the supreme power. Of these councillors Mr Barwell alone adhered to Mr Hastings; while the three others not only refused to submit to his guidance, but placed themselves in direct and systematic opposition. Every measure proposed by him was rejected; the persons whom he had employed on diplomatic missions were recalled, and others substituted; while the natives were encouraged to bring charges against him, which were taken into full consideration. By these means he was not only virtually deposed, but placed as a criminal at the bar of his own court. He indignantly refused to plead his cause there, which was laid hold of as a proof of guilt. At one time, in consequence of his having first offered and then retracted his resignation, there were actually two boards issuing orders at once, so as to give rise to an apprehension of civil war.

The death of Colonel Monson liberated the governor-general from this singular control, and invested him anew with the supreme power. Being involved in ex-

pensive wars with Hyder and Tippoo on the coast of Coromandel, and with the Mahrattas in the west of India, he soon found himself reduced to severe financial distress. He had again recourse for relief to the upper provinces. Cheyt Sing, the rajah of Benares, had been for some time a faithful ally, paying a moderate tribute, with an understanding that he should be liable to no farther demand. Under the pressure of the war, however, solicitations and even requisitions were addressed to him, both for additional advances in money and for a contingent of troops; and as the rajah showed extreme reluctance to comply with these demands, employing some of the usual diplomatic artifices to evade them, the governor-general formed the resolution to throw him into prison, and seize his whole treasure. The first design was effected while Mr Hastings himself was at Benares, whither he had repaired with seeming rashness, attended only by a few companies of sepoys. The citizens, inflamed at the outrage offered to their chief, rose with a spirit seldom displayed by an Indian populace, cut in pieces the small detachment of soldiers, and enabled him to regain his liberty. Had they advanced with promptitude, they might have satiated their vengeance by the death of the governor himself, who had round him only a handful of men; but they lost the opportunity, and he made his way to the strong fortress of Chunar. As soon, however, as he could muster his strength and commence active operations the Indian troops dispersed; upon which the people returned to their usual submissive habits. The castle of Bidgegur, to which the rajah had retreated as his last resource, was reduced; but Cheyt Sing effected his escape, and the treasure it contained was found, with feelings of deep disappointment, to fall short of £300,000.

The spoil of the Rajah of Benares having thus failed to afford the expected supply, Mr Hastings was driven to a still more unwarrantable resource. An agreement was made with Asoph-ul-Dowlah, relieving him of a great part of the subsidiary force which he was bound

to maintain, on condition of his immediately paying a large sum of money. The full understanding was, that this should be drawn from the coffers of the Begums,* two aged ladies, the reigning nabob's mother and grandmother, to whom his father, Sujah Dowlah, had left the greater part of his accumulated wealth. It was clearly foreseen that nothing but the severest torture could induce these venerable dames to yield up their treasured hoards; and, as every principle of duty and decency forbade the application of this to their own persons, their favourite eunuchs were seized, thrown into dungeons, and treated with the utmost indignity. Thus, after long delays and evasions, there was extracted from them nearly half a million sterling; which, however, did not amount to the sum expected.

Mr Hastings soon after returned to Calcutta, and in February 1785 embarked for England, after an administration of thirteen years. During that period the revenue had been somewhat increased; but the debt had been augmented in a greater proportion. This, however, had resulted from the wars in which the Company were involved, particularly that with Hyder, to which the governor-general could scarcely be considered a party. On arriving in England he found a violent clamour against him. Mr Francis, who in India was his constant and unyielding opponent, had reached Britain before him, and communicated the most unfavourable impressions. The cause was embraced with enthusiastic zeal by Burke, perhaps the greatest orator of the day. He commenced a series of motions, impeaching the conduct of Hastings, and was powerfully seconded by Sheridan; while Pitt, who at first successfully turned them aside, at length gave his entire concurrence. The House then determined to present to the Lords a bill of impeachment against the late governor of India—a measure which excited the deepest interest throughout the nation. This celebrated trial commenced on the 13th February 1788 before a numerous auditory, which included a great part of the royal family. Burke opened the charge by a

speech that lasted four days, in which he represented the conduct of Mr Hastings as a compound of treachery and cruelty, disgraceful to the British name, and almost without a parallel in the annals of history. The numerous charges, however, upon which the impeachment was founded, the complexity of the evidence, and the remote quarter whence witnesses were to be brought, protracted the trial to an extraordinary length. Seven years rolled on, during which the public mind underwent a remarkable change. The warmth of feeling against the real or supposed enormities of the accused gradually subsided, and no small pity was felt for an individual so eminent, who, with nothing yet proved against him, had been doomed not only to endure a heavy load of reproach, but to pass through a life of impeachment. If he had not been cleared of blame, it was evident that the magnitude of his offences had been considerably exaggerated. The interest taken in the transaction languished; and when the vote was called on the 17th April 1795, the sentence of "not guilty" upon the first charge was carried in a very thin House by a majority of twenty-four to six, and upon all the others by majorities not materially different. The Company, after having projected something still more liberal, granted him finally a pension of £4000 a-year for twenty-eight years and a half, and a loan without interest for eighteen years of £50,000 to defray the expenses of the trial.

Meantime the affairs of India had been the subject of anxious deliberation in the legislature, and the measures proposed on this subject were even made the chief ground of debate between the two great political factions. Mr Fox having by his coalition with Lord North obtained a complete ascendency in Parliament, brought in his memorable bill, by which nearly the whole government and patronage of India would have been taken from the Company and vested in the Commons. It was passed without difficulty in that house; yet it increased the odium under which the ministry laboured, being considered as an arrangement that would throw into their

hands such a degree of influence as to render them permanent and absolute, without control either from prince or people. This was so strongly represented to the king, that he authorized Earl Temple to acquaint as many members of the House of Lords as he thought fit, that he would consider those who should vote for the measure to be his personal enemies. It was accordingly rejected, and the coalition were soon afterwards removed from power, when Mr Pitt began his brilliant career as minister. It was not long till he introduced a bill, which made a very material change in the administration of India; and from the great popularity which he then enjoyed, and the admission on all hands that some change was necessary, he had little difficulty in carrying it through the two houses.

The leading feature in this measure was the establishment of a new body, invested with high powers, called the Board of Control. It consists of six members, among whom must be the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Secretary of State. One of these high officers, appointed to act as president, has in fact exercised nearly the whole power of the Board. Its functions are described somewhat vaguely in the following terms:—"From time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the United Company in the East Indies." They are authorized to inspect all correspondence and despatches to and from India, and the proceedings of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors; also to have access to all papers and documents belonging to the Company. They have power to alter and amend the instructions which that body send out to their servants; and, in certain special cases, can transmit orders directly through a secret committee of the directors, who act as the mere channel of their communications. These last are allowed an appeal from the Board to the king in council, which, as Mr Mill observes, is little else than an appeal from the king to himself, and has never in

practice been resorted to. The same writer considers the Board of Control as now the sole governing power, and the directors as only an instrument for carrying its decisions into effect. It is admitted, however, that Indian affairs have been generally left to the administration of the Company, without vexatious or oppressive interference from the controlling authority. The Board have influenced all the grand measures and appointments, and obtained a large share of the patronage; but the two bodies have, on the whole, worked together with a greater degree of harmony than might have been expected from an independent and ill-defined jurisdiction. The king has the nomination of the commander-in-chief; while the Company appoint the governor-general and all the members of council,—subject however to the approbation of the sovereign, who can at any time recall even the highest of these officers.

This act contained very strict injunctions to renounce all schemes of war and conquest, and for the remedy of other evils, whence the Company's financial distress and the oppression of their Indian subjects were supposed to have arisen. On this latter point a unanimous sentiment at that moment pervaded the British cabinet. It was obvious, however, that the execution of directions sent to so distant a settlement would depend upon the personal character and views of the individual holding the chief authority. Much anxiety was therefore felt to select one whose principles might be a pledge for the due fulfilment of the objects now aimed at by the government and Company. For this purpose, Lord Cornwallis, a statesman of high reputation and long experience, was considered, beyond any other individual in England, eminently qualified for the task.

His lordship arrived in India in September 1786, and availing himself of the information afforded by Mr Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), who succeeded him, immediately applied with the utmost diligence to the arrangement of affairs. Animated by the purest patriotism and integrity, and endowed with a sound judg-

ment, he perhaps did not possess those comprehensive views which form the complete statesman. He was desirous, in conformity with his instructions, to abstain from aggression and conquest in every form; yet we have seen him, on somewhat slender grounds, allowing himself to be drawn into hostilities with Tippoo, which laid the foundation for other contests on a still greater scale. In undertaking to place on an improved basis the financial and judicial systems of British India, he was guided by motives decidedly benevolent; but his arrangements in some cases proceeded on a very imperfect knowledge of the actual state of the country. He applied principles founded upon abstract theory and English practice to a people in whom local prejudices had taken deep root. The sanguine expectations formed from his administration were thus in a great measure disappointed; but the details will be more conveniently considered before the close of this chapter, in taking a general view of the management of these departments in British India.

Since the time of Lord Cornwallis no material change has taken place in the constitution of the Company, or in the mode of governing their possessions. But it may be interesting to point out the means by which their numerous vassal states have been brought and are still retained under their control. The first and most efficient of their expedients was to quarter in the territories of an ally, with his consent, real or apparent, troops which he either took into pay or maintained, contributing an adequate sum. They were understood to be placed there solely to secure him against foreign aggression, or the efforts of a domestic competitor, but to interfere in no shape with the internal government. The presence, however, in the heart of his dominions, of a force decidedly superior to his own in discipline and number, placed him of course under a silent but real control. This being fully established, the next step was to require that, instead of money-payments, he should cede a portion of territory, the revenues of which might defray the

expense of the subsidiary troops. With this was combined, not necessarily indeed, but usually, an agreement to intrust the defence of his borders entirely to the Company, and to discontinue all political and diplomatic intercourse with any other power. The last stage of subjection now arrived, when he was required to resign the whole administration into the hands of the British, and to retain the mere pomp and name of royalty, supported, no doubt, by a liberal allowance of revenue.

Of these three arrangements, the first was often cheerfully acceded to, and even solicited by the sovereign, when his state appeared in danger either from foreign or domestic enemies. No long time elapsed, however, before the yoke was painfully felt, both by ruler and people; and the second step, consisting in a cession of land, could only be brought about by a feeling of invincible necessity. After this measure was adopted, the government of the Company became, generally speaking, very odious, and intrigues were usually formed for the expulsion of their agents; which, again, afforded a pretext for compelling the prince to acquiesce in the third or final arrangement.

It is painful to remark, that the divided government prevailing under these successive systems has been productive of extensive evils. The rajahs and nabobs, secured by a British force against any insurrection of the people, could defy their discontent, indulge in violent and tyrannical measures, and gratify their avidity by every species of extortion. The entire subjection, therefore, of the sovereign afforded in general a salutary relief to the great body of the people. Ever after the successful war which terminated with the capture of Pondicherry, the English were the real masters of the Carnatic, and held the nabob as their vassal; but he showed himself much dissatisfied with his position, and contributed very little to their aid in the formidable contests with Mysore. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, on opening his grand campaign against Tippoo, resolved, as the only mode of rendering the resources of the Carnatic

available, to insist that during the war it should be placed entirely in his possession; a liberal provision being made for the chief, to whom, when peace should return, the government was to be restored. That prince, though he made all the resistance in his power, was at length compelled to submit; his territories were occupied, but, agreeably to treaty, given back at the conclusion of hostilities. This arrangement, however, was found so inconvenient, and the nabob's conduct so little satisfactory, that Marquis Wellesley, before beginning his final operations against Tippoo in 1799, resolved to press a new negotiation, by which a certain portion of territory should be made over to the Company in full and final sovereignty; in consideration of which the entire occupation formerly stipulated should be dispensed with. The rajah strenuously resisted this proposal, and succeeded in delaying its fulfilment till the rapid successes of the British arms had brought the war to a termination, when he maintained that the circumstances had ceased upon which this new demand was founded. There was discovered, however, in the archives of Seringapatam, a series of letters between him and the sovereign of Mysore, in which he applied the most flattering language to Tippoo, while he mentioned with disdain the allied powers; describing the English as new comers, the nizam as nothing, and the Mahrattas as contemptible. Mr Mill argues that these were mere empty compliments usual among oriental princes, and to which the nabob was prompted by the vanity of corresponding with so powerful a ruler. But, besides that any intercourse was contrary to express agreement, no friendly interpretation could be put on the terms in which they and their allies were designated. The hostile disposition which these letters manifested was not only in accordance with the general tenor of his conduct, but arose perhaps necessarily out of his humbled situation. Under these impressions the governor-general directed Lord Clive, the resident, to insist upon carrying into effect the third arrangement; by which the prince was re-

quired to resign into the hands of the English the whole administration, civil and military, of his dominions, and to retire with a liberal provision for himself and family. But when Clive received these instructions, his highness laboured under so severe an illness as made it impossible to communicate them. His death following soon after, the complaint, and the demand founded upon it, were first made to his reputed son, Ali Hussein,—a circumstance unfavourable to the British, who thus appeared disposed to visit the offences of the father on one who was not even accused of participating in them. The young man showed considerable irresolution; he at one time gave his consent, but, swayed by the advice of his guardians, he finally met the proposals with a positive rejection. The Company then looked round for another member of the royal family, whom the advantages still attached to the name of nabob might incline to govern on their own terms. They pitched upon Azeem-ul-Dowlah, a nephew of the deceased, who, having no other access to greatness, was easily induced to accept this dignity, even on the unfavourable conditions upon which it was tendered. A similar arrangement had just been made with the Rajah of Tanjore, who retired on a pension consisting of a lack of pagodas and a third part of the net revenues; and hence the English were established in the uncontrolled administration, civil and military, of the whole Carnatic.

The nizam, who had long fluctuated between a French and British alliance, was in 1798, through the vigorous measures of the Marquis Wellesley, compelled to adopt the latter, and to permit the occupation of his country by a subsidiary force. The overthrow of the house of Mysore had the effect of reducing him to a state of complete dependence, of which the marquis took advantage, and required him to cede a large extent of territory, including all that he had received on the partition of Tippoo's dominions. To this was also annexed the condition, that he should intrust all his foreign intercourse to the English. Since that time, although many discontents have arisen between the two parties,

affairs have proceeded without any material change in their relative situation.

The nabobship of Oude, combined with the nominal yet still respected title of vizier, when held by the vigorous hands of Sujah Dowlah, formed one of the most important fragments into which the Mogul empire had been separated. This chief invited and even bribed the British, with the view of aiding him in the subjection of Rohilcund, and in defending himself against the Mahrattas; but under his feeble successor, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, it was felt that the army of occupation at once burdened the finances and kept the country in real subjection. Continued remonstrances were therefore employed to procure a reduction of this force; and Mr Hastings had agreed, in consideration of the sum paid out of the spoil of the Begums, to withdraw a great part of it. During the administration of Sir John Shore, Asoph-ul-Dowlah died, and his reputed son, Vizier Ali, at first succeeded; but the governor being convinced of his illegitimacy, employed means for raising to the throne Saadut Ali, eldest surviving brother of Asoph-ul-Dowlah. Soon afterwards, the rejected ruler, with his partisans, either through design or in the heat of passion, having attacked and assassinated at Benares, Mr Cherry, the English resident, along with some other gentlemen, was obliged to take flight, and his person was afterwards secured. The new nabob, who owed his existence to the Company, was obliged to agree to a treaty by which the subsidiary force was to be considerably enlarged, with a discretionary power to augment it still farther. He soon, however, began, like other Indian princes, to show symptoms of uneasiness under the thraldom to which he was thus reduced; and Marquis Wellesley thought it advisable to demand that he should receive a larger body of troops, and cede for their support the valuable territories of Rohilcund and the Doab,—an arrangement by which he was completely enclosed within the British dominions, and separated from all the other powers of India.

Among the acquisitions made by negotiation,—that

is, by demands which the other party were unable to resist,—was that of Surat in 1800, and of Furruckabad in 1802, when their respective nabobs were pensioned at the rate of £12,000 a-year. By a convention also in 1817, a large portion of Guzerat, including Ahmedabad the capital, was added to the Company's dominions.

The following estimate of the extent and population of the territories, now included in British India, has been published by Parliament :—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Presidency of Bengal,	220,312	69,710,071
Districts, the population of which is doubtful,	85,700	
Madras,	141,923½	13,508,535
Bombay,	59,438¼	6,251,546
Districts, the population of which is doubtful,	5,550	
	512,923¾	89,470,152

The inhabitants of the doubtful districts, being situated on the Nerbudda in Berar and Concan, are probably not numerous ; so that the whole will not much exceed ninety millions. The territory of the allied or subject states is estimated at 614,610 square miles ; their population, however, is not supposed nearly equal to that of the provinces under the immediate government of the Company. Mr Hamilton, in the second edition of his Gazetteer, estimates it as follows :—

The Nizam,	10,000,000
The Nagpoor Rajah,	3,000,000
The King of Oude,	3,000,000
The Guickwar,	2,000,000
The Satara Rajah,	1,500,000
The Mysore Rajah,	3,000,000
Travancore and Cochin,	1,000,000
Kotah, Boondee, and Bopaul,	1,500,000
Rajpoot and other petty States,	15,000,000
	40,000,000

The same gentleman makes the following conjecture as to the states that still remain independent :—

Scindia,	4,000,000
Lahore, Rajah Rungeet Singh,	3,000,000
Sinde,	1,000,000
Nepaul,	2,000,000
Cashmere and other Districts belonging to the King of Cabul,	1,000,000
	11,000,000

This would give for the whole of India a population amounting to more than 140 millions.

As the Company's charter has usually been continued for twenty years only, its renewal in 1813 occasioned a strong sensation. The call for carrying out the principles of free trade, and opening a new employment for the overflowing capital of Great Britain, was so loud as to oblige that body to give up a large share of their exclusive privileges. The intercourse with India was thrown open, under certain limitations, to private merchants, who were to carry it on in vessels of not less than 350 tons, though this restriction was removed in 1823. Their operations, in Britain, were confined to certain principal ports, where sufficient warehouses and docks could be provided; and in India, to those of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The Company retained their right of preventing any European from taking up his residence in India, or even from proceeding more than ten miles into the interior.

In 1833, when another renewal was called for, equally warm and prolonged discussions took place, and the Directors were required to part with still farther immunities. They were not only to throw open the China trade, the only branch from which they still derived profit, but to cease trading altogether. All their assets and property, territorial, commercial, and personal, were to be yielded to the disposal of Parliament, but still to be held by themselves in trust for the benefit of India. The government was to remain in their hands, nearly as before, till the 12th April 1854, when this new charter is to terminate. The Company were to be secured in a dividend of £10, 10s. per cent. on their capital stock, to be taken as a preferable debt out of the revenues of India. This charge became redeemable after 1874, on the payment of £200 for every £100 stock; but they might demand redemption in 1854, if they should then be deprived of the government, and in this event two millions sterling were to be paid to the Commissioners of the National Debt as security. Upper

India was to be separated from Bengal, and to compose a fourth presidency, comprehending all the provinces on the Ganges and Jumna as far down as Allahabad. The necessity of some new arrangement for diffusing the benefits of a uniform administration over so vast an extent of territory had for some time been admitted. Lord W. Bentinck had recommended that no division should take place, but that the last-mentioned city, as the most central, should be made the seat of government instead of Calcutta. On full consideration, however, it was judged most advisable to create a fourth presidency, having Agra for its name and capital; but very recently, this presidency has been reannexed to Calcutta, under the title of the North-western Provinces, which are placed under a lieutenant-governor residing at the city just specified. To render the system more complete, the governor-general was invested with a power to superintend both the civil and military affairs of the other presidencies. The rulers of the latter had indeed power in the mean time to make and suspend laws, but these were not to be considered permanent till they had received the assent of the supreme authority. Nor could they, without the same sanction, coin money, or create any new office.

Under this charter, the obstacles against British subjects going to or residing in India were, in a great measure, removed. There was no exclusion from any port having a custom-house, nor even from any territory, however distant from the coast, which had been in the possession of England since 1800. This regulation opened nearly the whole of the lower provinces of Bengal, and also most of the Madras presidency. Measures were to be taken for the gradual abolition of personal slavery, so far as it exists; and a commission was appointed with the view of inquiring into, simplifying, and improving the codes of law.

In the government administered by the Company, the most striking feature is that military force by which their extensive dominions were originally acquired and

are still held in subjection. Its composition is perhaps more remarkable than that of any army ever levied; for India is subjected to a foreign yoke by her own soldiers, paid with her own money. It might at first appear that a conquering state could not without the utmost peril rely on such means; but the conduct of the sepoys or native troops, under British commanders, has entirely removed all such apprehension. They have been employed more than fifty years in extending our sovereignty over their own country, during which they have frequently distinguished themselves. On the plain of Assaye, and on the bulwarks of Seringapatam, they fought side by side with European troops. Nor has their fidelity been less remarkable. It was put to the severest test when the subsidiary force stationed at the capital of the peishwa, consisting partly of troops raised within his territories, were assailed at once with earnest solicitations and high bribes to join the ranks of their original sovereign. They all remained incorruptible; and officers, some of whom were of low rank, brought to our resident large sums of money which had been offered as the price of desertion. It is, however, of importance that they should have a commander who understands their character and treats them kindly, for there is scarcely any thing which they will not undertake for a leader of this description. Their mutinies have not been frequent. The dreadful one at Vellore, in 1806, undoubtedly originated from the rash interference with usages connected with their ideas of religion and caste,—a compulsory change in the form of the turban, and a prohibition to retain on the face, while on service, the distinctive mark of their order. It was fomented also by Mussulman chiefs, who hoped by that means to re-establish the fallen dynasty of Mysore. The great mutiny of 1809, excited by the rigour of Sir George Barlow, was confined to the European officers; and while it raged in the garrisons of Hydrabad, Seringapatam, and Masulipatam, the native soldiers are said to have been ignorant of its existence.

The political situation and feelings of the Hindoos account for the facility with which they have lent themselves to their own subjugation. Long obedient to the absolute rule of foreigners, whose manners and religion they disliked, almost all their national attachments were obliterated. Rammohun Roy observes, that the peasantry in general being quite ignorant both of the former and present government, are consequently quite indifferent to either. Disaffection is confined to men of aspiring character and of ancient family, who have no longer any means by which they can arrive at power or office. The troops fight for pay and plunder; being ready to defend him whose bread they eat against sovereign, friends, and country. They do not, however, act from motives purely mercenary, but consider themselves bound in honour to support the cause of him by whom they are maintained, and not to enter the ranks of another till the first has completely fallen.

The native army attained by gradual steps its present strength and discipline. A few sepoy battalions were at first employed merely as an appendage to the Company's forces, and, at that time, captain, adjutant, and some sergeants, were the only English officers attached to them. With the skill which these communicated, and the use of musketry, they easily vanquished the irregular troops of the native princes. When the latter, however, began to improve their military system and introduce European tactics, it became necessary to raise our indigenous force to a higher degree of efficiency; their complement of British officers was progressively increased, and they were more and more assimilated to regiments of the line. This method was brought into full operation in 1796; since which date no native has been allowed to rise above the rank of subahdar, the highest pay attached to which is 147 rupees per month; and in that station, after a life of service, he is subject to the command, and perhaps the insolence, of the youngest subaltern from England. Sir John Malcolm considers this state of affairs as very discouraging to the

zeal of the Hindoos; and, though he does not recommend that they should be raised to high commands, he nevertheless suggests that grants of land or lucrative civil employments should be bestowed as a recompense for long and faithful services.

In 1769, that species of force amounted to 69,000; in 1801 it had risen to 132,000; and in 1808 to 151,000. The following exhibits the progressive increase and reduction both as to numbers and expense:—

Years.	Company's Troops.	Expense.	King's Troops.	Expense.
1814	175,398	£6,614,372	20,074	£964,509
1820	241,240	9,221,502	16,769	779,477
1826	275,314	12,184,475	16,848	734,783
1830	204,136	8,660,753	20,308	801,200

The Company's troops at this last period consisted of upwards of 37,000 English, and 187,000 natives, 20,000 of the former belonging to his Majesty's regiments. The next table shows the different descriptions of force, distinguishing the European from the Asiatic:—

	European.	Native.	Total.
Engineers	116	968	1,084
Artillery, Horse	2,560	1,062	3,622
.... Foot	7,469	6,294	13,763
Cavalry, King's	2,577	..	2,577
.... Company's	..	16,962	16,962
Infantry, King's	17,731	..	17,731
.... Company's	3,634	148,697	152,331
Invalids	811	9,777	10,588
Pioneers	..	3,487	3,487
Hospital	602	664	1,266
Staff	1,033	..	1,033
	36,533	187,911	224,444

The expense per annum of a regiment of—

Light Dragoons,	of 8 troops, and		736 men,	is stated	£73,788
Native Cavalry,	.. 6	....	554	....	35,784
King's Infantry,	.. 10 companies		844	....	51,745
Company's Europ.,	.. 8	....	783	....	46,500
.... Native,	.. 8	....	792	....	24,492

The Company, in 1831, paid to 639 officers on furlough £179,041. The full and half-pay pensions, an allowance commenced in 1796, amounted to £115,798.

The *revenue* of India is derived principally from land; and the English, according to the uniform practice of the Mogul government, were disposed to draw from it the utmost possible amount which would leave a subsistence to the owner and cultivator. Lord Cornwallis, with the concurrence of the Directors, determined to introduce the system of permanent settlement; by which the proprietor would be assured that, when the tax had once been fixed, he should reap the fruits of whatever improvement he might effect. But it is remarkable that extreme difficulty has been found in ascertaining the real owner, as there appeared three distinct parties who had plausible pretensions to be so considered. These were the Great Mogul, in whose place the Company now stood; the zemindars, or hereditary officers, who collected the land-revenue and remitted it to the sovereign, retaining a certain proportion; and the ryot, or hereditary occupant, who, provided he paid the assessment, could not be legally ejected. The latter appeared in Bengal under so humble an aspect, that it seemed impossible to recognise his right to the dignified title of a landed proprietor; yet the observations of those gentlemen who have had an opportunity of closely examining the districts where Hindoo institutions remained in full force, seem to leave no doubt that the ryot is the original possessor. The Institutes of Menu distinctly recognise land as the property of him who cut away the wood and first cleared and tilled it. Wilks, who had very extensive means of acquiring knowledge relative to Southern India, and whose views upon the subject Sir John Malcolm considers as incontrovertible, appears to have ascertained that the share of the produce which could be claimed by the sovereign did not, according to the ancient Hindoo law, exceed a sixth. In Travancore, indeed, the most southern territory, and the one least affected by foreign conquest, it at this moment varies from a twentieth to a fortieth. Extensive encroachments were made by the conquering dynasties professing the Moslem religion; but the rights claimed

by those fierce warriors rested entirely on their swords, according to which they held alike as their own the property and the persons of vanquished infidels. Even under the proud sway of Rajpootana, it had become the established maxim of the ryot :—"The government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land." It has been maintained, that when reduced to the mere profits of farming, he could by no means be considered as proprietor, but only as perpetual lessee. Yet even this narrowed possession is highly valued and proudly maintained. The Hindoo derives from it an assured subsistence, while he delights in it as the soil cultivated by his fathers, and which he hopes will be tilled by his descendants.

Upon the whole, then, the only dispute appears to lie between the sovereign and the ryot. The zemindar, who merely collected rents for the former, seems to have no substantial claim whatever; yet in Bengal, at the time when the settlement was to be made, he appeared the greatest man in the district, corresponding to the country gentleman or the feudal baron of Europe. He lived with the pomp of a nobleman, and sometimes of a prince; he commanded a body of troops; he possessed even the chief criminal jurisdiction within his limits. The ryots, on the contrary, reduced to universal indigence, subject to arbitrary exactions, and to have their annual payments raised at the will of their superior, appeared to rank not as farmers in our sense of the word, but rather as the villains and bondmen of the middle ages. It was determined, therefore, to consider the zemindars as the actual proprietors, and the ryots merely as renters. The permanent settlement was made in favour of the former class; and on payment of a fixed sum, whether of the description of tax or rental, but never to be increased, they remained in every other respect the clear owners of the property. They were only required to give to the ryots a puttah, or bond fixing the annual rent, on payment of which the latter were to remain undisturbed in the occupation of their farms.

Never perhaps did a measure originate in motives so pure, involve so extensive a sacrifice, and yet produce so much distress and even injustice. It set out with wresting from the ryots, the great body of the agricultural population, rights which, though much narrowed and invaded, were still fondly prized. But so impossible is it to predict the consequences of any remarkable change, that the class of zemindars so unjustly favoured were those to whom it proved the most ruinous. The payments demanded from them amounted in fact to nearly the rack-rent of the whole country, and therefore it was difficult for them to avoid falling into arrears. But non-payment was speedily followed by a summary process of sequestration, and the sale of the lands; while they had no means of drawing funds from the ryots, unless by a method, which, as will presently appear, is beyond measure tedious and dilatory. Before they could realize their rents, the farms were seized and sold for the dues to government; and a most extensive transference of property has been thus occasioned. Nor have the ryots recovered any of their rights by the change. Their poverty precluded any attempt to become the purchasers of the forfeited estates, which fell into the hands of speculators, consisting generally of the opulent inhabitants of the cities. The evil is done, and cannot easily be retrieved: the lands are sold, and no stretch of justice admits of their being resumed. Indeed it seems acknowledged by the greatest opponents of this system, that the principle of permanent settlement, whatever mischief its misapplication may in the first instance have occasioned, is beginning to produce the most happy effects, by ensuring to the proprietor the fruits of all the improvement he may accomplish. Under this encouragement, considerable tracts formerly waste have been brought under culture; but Rammohun Roy, in his evidence before Parliament, complained that the ryots, whose want of means renders them little able to make head against a wealthy landlord, are in as unprotected and impoverished a state as ever.

In a considerable portion of the Carnatic, an arrangement has been more recently attempted on an entirely different principle. In effecting this measure the ryots were considered as the real proprietors, and upon them the permanent settlement was made by Sir Thomas Munro. That liberal governor, however, was induced by the urgency and necessity of the Company to fix the rent at 45 per cent. of the produce, which was so high as to leave no probability of its being then paid; but it was hoped that the operation of the system would effect in a short time such an improvement as to render even this high rate not too burdensome. Meantime accommodations were made from year to year according to circumstances; but no final possession was to be granted till the payment should reach the standard fixed by the supreme authority. In this plan it was forgotten that the permanent grant, out of which the improvement was expected to arise, did not exist; consequently the benefits naturally flowing from it were looked for in vain. An attempt was then made to form a village-administration, where the potail, or headman, should levy the rent from the ryots, and be held responsible for its amount; being empowered, in case of any deficiency, to lay on an extra assessment. This arrangement was adopted first for three, then for ten years; but before the last period expired the system had entirely failed, after great oppression was endured on the part of the cultivator. The direct lease was again resorted to, with a deduction, which indeed Munro had strongly recommended, of a fourth or a third of the rent originally exacted; but hardly any favourable result has yet been obtained, either as to the improvement of the country or the relief of its unhappy cultivators.

A settlement for thirty years has just been made in the presidency of Agra, now the North-western Provinces. From the account of it given in a periodical published at Meerut, it appears to have been formed upon a very careful examination of the amount which the lands are capable of paying, as well as of the respective claims of the different classes of proprietors and cultivators.

On the western coast, the rent was fixed, as in Tippoo's time, at 25 per cent. for Canara, and 30 for Malabar; but the rigid exaction of this amount is said to have occasioned numerous sales, and a great transference of landed property. The Bombay government has been engaged in an extensive survey of the Mahratta territory, ceded by the last treaty, with a view to a settlement, which was meant to continue first for five, then for thirty years, and afterwards to be rendered permanent. A great portion of this country, however, was from political motives assigned to jaghiredars, who held it in feudal tenure under the English government, to whom they paid only a regulated tribute.

The lands of Guzerat, which has always been the most flourishing of the provinces, and where the cultivator has been least oppressed, are let on leases of seven years at the same rate as before.

The following Table, from the Parliamentary Papers, exhibits for 1829-30 the produce of the land-revenue in the four presidencies, distinguishing the different districts, the respective fertility of which will be hereby illustrated:—

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

Bengal.

	Rupees.
Beerbhoom	6,91,877
Burdwan	28,47,469
Calcutta	65,570
Chittagong	5,33,798
Cooch Bahar	62,723
Dacca	4,08,363
Dinagepore	17,56,538
Jessore	12,09,356
Moorshedabad	11,95,563
Mymunsing	7,28,616
Nuddea	11,66,951
Purnea	10,35,412
Rageshahye	14,64,300
Rajemahl	43,815
Rungpore	10,63,179
Silhet	3,03,516
Tipperah	8,10,417
Twenty-four Pergunnahs	11,39,889
Bakergunge	7,81,809
Bhulwa	5,00,468
Boggree	1,97,999
Hoogley	11,02,874
Jungle Mehals	4,49,422
Sherepore	28,197
	1,95,88,121

Bahar.

	Rupees.
Bahar Proper	16,79,690
Boglipore	4,13,734
Dhurrumpore	2,44,756
Ramgur	1,61,293
Shahabad	12,74,082
Sircar Saurum	14,80,484
.. Tirhoot	15,60,563
Patna	3,52,869
	71,67,471

Orissa.

Midnapore	13,07,615
Hidgellie	3,04,905
Puttaspore	67,390
Cuttack	7,89,702
Balasore	2,91,619
Poorie	4,29,510
	31,90,741

Benares.

Benares	16,96,899
Ghazeepore	13,23,450
Juanpore	10,82,392
	41,02,741

Total Bengal Presidency	3,40,49,074

In 1790, the amount was 3,02,54,563 rupees.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Ceded Provinces.

	Rupees.
Allahabad	18,70,843
Futtehpore	13,30,207
Bareilly	13,29,274
Pillibheet	4,96,587
Suheswan	9,23,704
Cawnpore	31,75,746
Etawah	18,25,284
Furruckabad	17,36,854
Goruckpore	7,90,062
Moradabad	9,65,110
Nugeenah	14,94,218
Shajehanpore	11,24,136

Conquered Provinces.

Agra	16,83,187
Allighur	14,79,336
Saidabad	15,57,114
Banda	18,18,360
Calpee	17,00,805
Seharunpore	11,58,051
Moozuffernugger	6,85,421
Meerut	14,04,216
Boolundshahur	8,39,314
Delhi	29,67,947
Furruckabad rupees	*3,76,65,663
Sicca rupees	3,60,41,332

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

	Rupees.
Madras	69,094
Chingleput	8,30,183
Masulipatam	9,58,726
Rajahmundry	18,51,682
Guntoor	14,29,130
Vizagapatam	11,82,320
Ganjam	8,55,106
Salem	16,81,880
Madura	15,23,008
North Arcot	18,24,958
South Arcot	17,50,831
Canara	15,56,648
Coimbetore	22,70,119
Tanjore	33,62,169
Bellary	18,44,378
Kurnool	80,208
Cuddapah	18,36,839
Malabar	16,02,567
Nellore	17,83,367
Trichinopoly	13,92,021
Tinnevelly	15,52,780
	3,12,38,014

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Bombay	59,294
Carnatic (Darwar)	19,81,519
Poonah	4,54,209
Ahmednuggur	18,66,598
Surat	15,65,972
Baroach	15,70,609
Eastern Zillah	21,11,812
South Concan	10,55,452
North	10,65,834
Ahmedabad	10,22,619
Anjar	88,000
Candeish	12,83,555
Kattywar	6,93,815
Bombay rupees	1,48,19,288

Although the land revenue is much the largest, exceeding indeed all the others put together, yet there are other considerable branches. The principal is the monopoly of salt, which is manufactured by the agents of government, and disposed of by public sale for ready money. This arrangement takes place only in the Bengal and Madras presidencies; and in the former the price is thereby raised to 12s. 9d. per cwt., which is stated to be 288 per cent. above cost and charges. In Madras the price does not exceed a fourth part of that now mentioned, yet from the extreme cheapness of the process the gains are said to be larger. The produce in 1835-6 was £1,655,600 in Bengal, and £376,800 in Madras; in all £2,032,400.

* It will be observed that there is a discrepancy between the total land revenue and the aggregate sums of the different districts of the North-western Provinces.

The expense of manufacture was £547,600, reducing the net revenue to £1,484,800. This is a heavy tax on a necessary of life; yet it bears so lightly on each individual, that it is considered impossible to raise the same revenue in any other way so unobjectionable.

The monopoly of opium ranks second in importance, and forms indeed a very proper branch of taxation. Being produced chiefly in the province of Bahar, the impost is levied only in the Bengal presidency. It has to compete, however, with the opium of Malwa, originally much inferior, but which, being manufactured by free cultivators, has improved greatly both in quantity and quality. It is exported at Bombay, where it pays a custom duty; a system which has been strongly recommended in Bengal, and would be attended with many advantages; but the large amount of the revenue, and the dread of smuggling, has caused every change to be viewed with apprehension. The produce in 1835-6 was £1,689,700, subject to charges of £452,000, leaving £1,237,700 net.

Tobacco is made a subject of monopoly only in Coimbetore, Canara, and Malabar, the western districts of the Madras presidency. The article is thereby raised from 60 to 205 rupees per cwt., which is considered a hardship, as excluding the lower ranks from an indulgence almost necessary in that damp climate. The amount in 1835-6 was £73,400, which, with the deduction of £21,500 of expenses, left only £51,900 of clear revenue.

The customs are levied on the exportation, and, till lately, on the inland transit of goods. The latter branch was imposed when the country was divided between different sovereignties, and, after it was all absorbed under British dominion, they were reduced, but not abolished. They greatly impeded internal trade, and caused much vexation and annoyance, especially to small merchants, so that by a very judicious regulation introduced in 1837 they were abolished. The following is the gross and net produce of customs for 1835-6 in the respective presidencies:—

	Gross.	Expense.	Net.
Bengal	£311,286	£48,375	£262,911
North-western (1836-7)	379,298	70,051	309,247
Madras	446,316	35,088	411,228
Bombay	406,071	24,336	381,735
Total	£1,542,971	£177,850	£1,365,121

Another order of imposts bears the title of Sayer, the nature of which is not very distinctly explained, but appears to consist of dues levied at markets and the gates of towns. With these are usually combined, though with no strict propriety, a second class called Abkaree, which are laid on spirits, opium, and every species of intoxicating drugs. They are chiefly in the form of license, and do not occasion much dissatisfaction.

The stamp duties were imposed in 1820 upon nearly the same description of deeds as in England, but do not yield at all an equal revenue. The post-office is also maintained, though on a much inferior scale. The roads are so bad that letters cannot with any advantage be conveyed in carriages nor even on horseback. The intercourse is kept up by foot-runners at the rate of four miles an hour, or on an emergency by an express travelling five miles. The following view of the gross produce of these and other minor heads in the four presidencies during the year 1835-6 is drawn up from the last annual account of the revenue :—

	Bengal.	N.-west. 1836-7.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Sayer and Abkaree	£210,712	£185,200	£167,294	£159,691	£722,897
Stamps	189,559	102,803	44,852	39,164	376,378
Post	56,691	25,027	30,187	14,076	125,981
Mint	32,031	....	1,539	34,777	68,347
Marine duties & pilotage	50,444	....	16,152	13,734	80,330
Judicial fees and fines	36,283	13,419	25,475	7,012	82,189
	£575,720	£326,449	£285,499	£268,454	£1,456,122

The following view of expenditure of the different presidencies for the same year is derived from the successive annual returns :—

	Bengal.	N.-west. 1836-7.	Madras	Bombay.	Total.
Civil & political	£683,991	£206,452	£342,121	£363,417	£1,595,981
Judicial & police	545,897	506,115	334,386	238,770	1,625,168
Military	3,344,558	....	2,248,948	1,311,161	6,904,667
Navy & marine	132,933	....	20,583	124,250	277,766
Public works....	19,948	4,242	2,417	8,705	35,312
East. possessions	134,960	....	....	....	134,960
Various........	6,761	....	....	....	6,761
	£4,869,048	£716,809	£2,948,455	£2,046,303	£10,580,615

The annexed summary of the revenues and charges of India for the last five years is compiled from similar sources :—

REVENUES.

	1832-3.	1833-4.	1834-5.	1835-6.	1836-7. (Partly estim.)
Beng. s. r.	9,48,77,776	8,84,42,407	5,32,30,735	6,19,74,644	6,14,54,962
N.-west...	....	....	4,03,22,158	3,87,66,288	3,88,58,730
Madras . .	2,96,99,557	3,23,52,335	3,36,89,479	3,59,00,518	3,24,01,796
Bombay. .	1,49,73,083	1,60,06,911	1,50,37,817	1,80,59,458	1,70,68,782
Ord. rev. .	13,95,50,416	13,68,01,653	14,22,80,189	15,47,00,908	14,97,84,270
Extr. rec.	....	....	15,92,392	7,94,537	1,79,975
S. rup. .	13,95,50,416	13,68,01,653	14,38,72,581	15,54,95,445	14,99,64,245
Sterling	£13,955,042	£13,680,165	£14,387,258	£15,549,545	£14,996,424
C. assets realized in Eng.	....	....	8,502,767	1,673,431	1,275,785
Defic...	264,332	....	....	....	....
	£14,219,374	£13,680,165	£22,890,025	£17,222,976	£16,272,209

CHARGES.

	1832-3.	1833-4.	1834-5.	1835-6.	1836-7. (Partly estim.)
Beng. s. r.	7,68,72,278	7,01,84,488	6,69,53,351	6,43,03,383	6,22,70,091
N.-west...	....	....	62,69,682	67,89,735	70 80,243
Madras . .	3,17,43,473	3,25,89,950	3,01,76,758	2,83,05,492	2,82,19,426
Bombay. .	2,03,47,099	1,96,80,454	1,90,80,918	1,95,35,685	1,98,38,631
Ord. char.	12,89,62,850	12,24,54,892	12,24,80,709	11,89,34,295	11,74,08,391
Extr. do.	....	....	45,82,451	1,15,08,906	6,68,021
Total. .	12,89,62,850	12,24,54,892	12,70,63,160	13,04,43,201	11,80,76,412
Sterling	£12,896,285	£12,245,489	£12,706,316	£13,044,320	£11,807,641
St Helena	95,553	91,641	11,557	25,335	....
England. .	1,227,536	1,293,637	2,162,868	2,109,814	2,210,847
	£14,219,374	£13,630,767	£14,880,741	£15,179,469	£14,018,488
Surplus	....	49,398	8,009,284	2,043,507	2,253,721
	£14,219,374	£13,680,165	£22,890,025	£17,222,976	£16,272,209

On the 30th April 1836, the amount of the Company's debts at the different presidencies was £29,832,299, on which £1,426,362 was paid in the form of interest.

The judicial arrangements introduced by Marquis Cornwallis proved, if possible, still less satisfactory than those relating to revenue. In India, as over all the East, this branch of administration was exercised directly and personally by the sovereign or his deputy; hence the zemindar, in this last capacity, at once collected the revenues, maintained the police, and decided in all cases civil and criminal. This he did by a summary process, hearing each cause from the mouths of the parties, and judging according to principles of equity, without any technical rule or study. His sentences were often corrupt and prejudiced; but they were prompt, and founded upon an intimate knowledge of the persons concerned. The British, on assuming the government, acted at first upon the same ground, so far as to combine the offices of judge and collector. Lord Cornwallis rejecting these arrangements, which were certainly false in principle, attempted too hastily to substitute the full and regular operation of English law. The country was divided into zillahs, each containing a court, in which presided a European judge with native assistants. From their decision appeal lay to certain superior tribunals at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, and from them a final appeal might be made to the supreme judicatory in the capital, called the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, composed of the governor in council, assisted by Mohammedan and Hindoo lawyers. The judges of the four appeal courts, going in circuit, tried criminal causes; but their sentences might also be brought under the revision of a higher bench, similarly constituted, called the Nizamut Adawlut.

This system, however plausible and well intended, was found in its operation very unsuitable to the habits of Indian society. Instead of the brief and summary process, founded on obvious and common-sense principles, there was substituted a complex code, in a great measure unknown to the people; and, instead of

stating their own case and obtaining a decision at once, they were obliged to employ pleaders, a new class of men whom it was necessary to create for the purpose, while they had also to endure the numerous inconveniences of protracted litigation which were soon greatly multiplied. It is a general practice in India never to discharge debts till compelled by force; and when it was discovered that by not paying till a lawsuit was instituted, a long delay could be gained, this course was adopted to an extent which vastly increased the number of processes. The time thus spent, and the temptation to profit by it, were more and more augmented, till the undecided cases swelled to an unprecedented amount. These delays, which proved almost equivalent to a denial of justice, caused, as already observed, the ruin of the whole body of zemindars without any benefit to their dependent ryots. Even after the fullest examination, the English lawyers found themselves very ill qualified to form a correct opinion. The general indifference to the obligation of an oath, which the most respectable natives consider unlawful, joined to the ignorance of the judge in regard to habits and modes of thinking altogether foreign to those which prevail in England, rendered it impossible to discover the truth in many cases, where the shrewd sense and local experience of the zemindar would have discerned it by a species of intuition. In consequence of the difficulty of bringing the guilty to justice, the system of decoity for some time increased to a great degree. In Bengal, however, it appears that, by the continued enforcement of criminal law, offences have been of late very materially diminished. Decoities, which twenty-five years before averaged about 1500, had decreased in 1828 to 167, though in Madras, the results, during 1829, were much less favourable. There 121,622 persons had been apprehended, of whom 85,172 were acquitted, and only 35,654 punished. Of 1740 cases of murder and gang robbery, in 909 none of the offenders had been discovered, and only 299 individuals were subjected to the proper penalty.

According to this system, the country has been divided into zillahs, in each of which is a court taking cognizance

both of civil and criminal cases. They consist in general of a judge with a salary of 28,000 rupees, a magistrate enjoying 18,000, and a register with 8,000. This court determines, in the first instance, civil suits not exceeding the value of 10,000 rupees; and in regard to public offences, it can punish with fine, imprisonment for two years, and thirty strokes of the rattan. Under it are the sudder ameens, who take cognizance of petty crimes, and can inflict an imprisonment of fifteen days, and a fine of fifty rupees. Their jurisdiction also extends to civil suits not above 1000 rupees. Still lower rank the moonsiffs, who take charge of police cases and civil suits not exceeding 150 rupees. The number of zillah courts in the Bengal presidency is forty-eight; in Madras thirteen, with seven auxiliaries.

Above the zillahs are provincial courts of appeal, six in number, sitting at Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Patna, Bareilly, and Benares. In Madras there are four, for the north, centre, south, and west. The judges having salaries of from 35,000 to 42,000 rupees, receive appeals from the zillahs, and can try, in the first instance, cases amounting to 5000 rupees. There are also in Bengal nineteen commissioners of revenue and circuit, with salaries of 40,000 or 50,000 rupees, who go through the country, take the direction of the magistrates, as well as officers of police, and twice a-year hold sessions of gaol delivery.

Superior to all these tribunals is the Sudder Dewannee and Nizamut Adawlut, the supreme court of civil and criminal justice, revenue, and police. It sits at Calcutta, and consists of a chief judge, with a salary of 63,000 rupees, and four puisne judges, with 55,000 rupees each. They revise all proceedings in the inferior courts, and take cognizance of civil suits amounting to £5000. Their decisions are final, unless where that sum is exceeded, when an appeal lies to the king in council. No sentence of death, transportation, or perpetual imprisonment, can be executed without their sanction, and they can mitigate the punishments awarded by the law officers.

In 1828, the number of appeals depending in the last-mentioned court was 469; in the course of the year 171

were admitted, and 148 decided, leaving 492 undisposed of. The usual consequence is a delay of four years and three months. In the provincial courts the arrear of business seems to extend to three years and six months; and in the zillah to two years and ten months. The following is a statement of the value in litigation in 1828:—

	Original.	Appeals.	Total.
Sudder	....	....	1,35,87,008
Calcutta courts	1,05,99,004	13,98,003	1,19,97,007
Dacca do.	24,89,452	5,07,694	29,97,146
Moorshedabad do.	1,15,78,942	5,55,523	1,21,34,465
Patna do.	92,53,461	10,20,270	1,02,73,731
Benares do.	4,45,27,486	13,16,457	4,58,43,943
Bareilly do.	26,13,528	9,48,972	35,62,500
Sicca rupees	8,10,61,873	57,46,919	10,03,95,800
	£8,106,187	£574,691	£10,039,580

Of those in the sudder court, eighteen were for 500 rupees and under, while 171 exceeded 10,000 rupees.

A summary of the convictions and punishments in the different Bengal courts for the year 1827 is here given:—

Crimes.	Sudder.	Courts of Circuit (1826).	Zillah, &c.
Murder	235	....	....
Manslaughter	115	97	22
Decoity	83	....	....
Burglary	26	600	2,116
Perjury	8	22	134
Other great crimes	94	....	....
Affray and assault	....	566	5,630
Arson	....	25	41
Child stealing	....	41	....
Larceny	....	218	7,681
Robbery of person	....	193	....
Shooting to kill	....	130	....
Receiving stolen goods	....	109	640
Cattle stealing	....	14	2,761
False complaint	....	....	1,224
Neglect of duty	....	....	7,956
Frauds	....	....	4,348
Riot	....	....	1,429
Other offences	....	201	1,989
	561	2216	35,971
Punishments.			
Death	56	....	....
Transportation	154	....	....
Imprisonment	336	2203	24,408
Fine	....	....	11,540
Whipping	....	13	15,137
Hard labour	....	....	14,910
Dismissal from office	....	....	1,299

In the Madras presidency, during the year 1828, the value of property involved in the civil suits did not exceed £325,300. The criminal cases before the circuit courts amounted to 4624; of whom 207 were arraigned for murder, 963 for gang-robbery, 606 for housebreaking, 931 for theft, 442 for receiving stolen goods, 67 for arson, 367 maiming and wounding, and 331 for affrays. The number convicted was only 956, none of whom appear to have suffered death; 800 were imprisoned, of whom 61 were fined and 289 flogged; 110 were only fined and 46 flogged. Two persons were tried for *sorcery*, but released "for want of evidence." In the zillah and inferior courts, during the half-year to 30th June 1829, there were arraigned 45,366 persons, of whom 29,313 were acquitted, and 13,601 convicted. The offences were almost wholly petty thefts and assaults. There were fined 11,097 individuals, imprisoned 2462, and flogged 1612.

In Bombay, the civil suits amounted to 39,227, and the value at stake was £326,056. There were apprehended by the magistrates and police 16,866, of whom 9708 were punished. The convictions before the criminal judges amounted to 1306; in the circuit courts to 108; in the Foujdarry Adawlut, as the supreme court is here named, to 97. There were condemned to death 22, and to transportation for life 35.

It may be also observed that there are in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, supreme courts composed of British judges, and deciding according to English law. They hold jurisdiction within the metropolitan cities, and also over the Company's servants in every part of the presidencies.

By the terms of the new charter, provision was made for a law commission, to revise the administration of justice in India. Accordingly, a body of four members, at the head of whom was Mr Macaulay, were soon afterwards sent out. Agreeably to instructions issued in June 1835, the commissioners, in the following autumn, submitted to the governor-general a new code, which, on

the 30th July 1838, was laid before the House of Commons. It has not, however, as yet come into actual operation, and has indeed in India been the subject of warm discussions, into which we do not feel ourselves competent to enter. On a general view it appears to be drawn up with great care, and a studious accommodation to the peculiar circumstances of that country. To every enactment is appended illustrative cases showing its application, and serving instead of decisions; and it is intended that future determinations upon different questions, as they arise, shall be inserted at their proper place in new editions of the code. The punishment of death is not proposed to be inflicted for any crime except murder, and the highest offence against the state. The next degree of penalty, transportation for life, is said to strike the natives with peculiar dread, on account of the mystery which overhangs the fate of those who are conveyed beyond what they term the Black Water. Various amounts of fine and periods of imprisonment follow; but it is admitted that in the management of the jails throughout India much improvement is required.

In a government like that of the Company, strict laws for enforcing obedience are of course to be expected; and the object of the commissioners seems to have been to ensure this object, and, at the same time, to preserve as much as possible freedom of discussion. Yet their language appears somewhat vague, when it is said that "whoever, by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representations, attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the government," may be punished with banishment for life. These terms might be made to comprehend almost any thing; it is however added, "such a disapprobation of the measures of the government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the government, and to support the lawful authority of the government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection." The punishment of

false evidence is made particularly severe, upon grounds that exhibit a painful view of the native character. This crime is so common, that direct testimony, even by respectable persons, is considered scarcely satisfactory, unless supported by some circumstance which bears no marks of previous contrivance. Hence has arisen a form of it, happily almost unknown amongst us, namely, "the fabrication of false evidence." It consists in arranging circumstances so as to fix on another person the appearance of guilt; as when "A. puts a purse in Z.'s bag, with the intention of causing Z. to be convicted as a thief;" or "A. conceals in Z.'s house a paper written in imitation of Z.'s hand, and purporting to be a plan of a treasonable conspiracy." Such practices are justly visited with the severest punishment, which may extend even to transportation for life. The sensitive feelings of the natives on the subject of religion and lineage have rendered it necessary to make strict enactments against defiling any place of worship, disturbing any religious assembly, or causing, either by force or stratagem, an individual to eat improper food, or commit any one of those minute acts which involve him in the dreadful consequences of a loss of caste. The clause subjecting to fine and imprisonment, "whoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person," has been objected to by the missionaries, as prohibiting that exposure of the errors of the native idolatry, which they consider as their indispensable duty.

Another circumstance which has excited a very strong sensation in India is an act of the Supreme Council passed in 1836, respecting Europeans resident in the Mofussil, by which term is legally meant those not included within the limits of the metropolitan cities. These persons, being made subject in all civil proceedings to the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, and the other Company's courts above mentioned, with the exception of the lowest or moonsiffs, were thereby deprived of the right of appeal,

which they had hitherto enjoyed, to the supreme court of the presidency. This has been very loudly complained of by some of the British settlers, and particularly the legal practitioners. They denominated it the Black Act, and represented it as depriving them of all the privileges of English subjects, making them amenable to courts which, they alleged, were so wholly corrupt, that the wealthiest party was in every instance sure to prevail. It was maintained that, where two nations with different laws resided in a country, equity obviously required that the case should be tried according to the law of the defendant, and in asking this they sought no more than was enjoyed by the Mohammedan and Hindoo. It was even alleged that the Company, unable to prevent the settlement of Europeans in India, were indirectly seeking to render it unavailable by regulations which would make it impossible for them to live there. On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Macaulay and the several members of the commission, that the charter, while allowing the colonization of British subjects in India, had carefully stipulated that the natives should be protected from every kind of oppression,—that this was inconsistent with the appeal to the English supreme court, which was pure indeed, but enormously expensive, and where the Hindoos could never be persuaded that they would be received on equal terms with the ruling caste. The mere threat of such an appeal would probably compel them to yield, and was believed in many instances to have done so. The English residents would still have recourse to the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut,—a tribunal of high character, and composed of their own countrymen, as are also the inferior courts down to the Zillah. They were reminded that they had been on their present footing four years, from 1827 to 1831, without any complaints of having suffered in consequence. The alleged corruption of the subordinate judges was said to be at least much exaggerated; at all events, the natives were not to be told that they must rest satisfied with a species of justice inferior to that enjoyed by the ruling class, and

that the interests of a few hundreds were to be preferred to those of fifty millions. Mr Macaulay admits that there are many abuses in the native courts, but considers this as an additional reason for subjecting to their jurisdiction, men who, so far from tamely submitting to insolence and injustice, will at once expose every instance of tyranny or fraud. We conceive, on the whole, that his views and those of his coadjutors are founded upon just and honourable principles. With regard, indeed, to the last argument, the settlers complain, and apparently with some reason, that their sufferings and perhaps ruin should be made, as they term it, the besom by which the abuses of Indian legislation are to be cleared away. We cannot but think, that since it is admitted such evils do exist, the Company, without waiting till they are stimulated by the cries and clamour of injured parties, should vigorously set about their reform or removal.

CHAPTER IX.

British Social System in India.

Peculiar Situation of the British in India—Different Classes—Cadets or Military Officers—Writers or Civil Servants—Medical Practitioners—Other Classes—Dangers of Extravagance—Society in the great Cities—Mode of spending the Day—Entertainments—Hunting—Splendour of Calcutta—Character of the English in India—East Indians—Missionary Exertions—The Baptist Mission—Translations of the Scriptures—London Missionary Society—Church Missionary Society—Scottish Missionary Society—Church of Scotland Mission—General Result of Missions—Abolition of Suttees—Its Effects—Pilgrim Tax.

The British inhabitants of India form a population of a very peculiar description. They are completely the ruling class, perform all the functions of government, and fill all places of power and profit. Yet the country is in no degree their own, and few ever think of making it their permanent abode. They consider their residence there as an exile, feeling that they belong to another people separated by the navigation of half the globe. In short, their object is to go out to India before twenty, and to return before fifty with a fortune, or at least an independence, which they may enjoy in their native land.

The young men who go thither in the hope of returning with wealth or competence belong to three professions,—the military, civil, and medical. The first of these, named cadets, receive their appointments from the court of directors. Those destined for the artillery and engineer departments are nominated to the Company's

military school at Addiscombe, though their particular service is not determined until they have undergone a public examination. Every candidate must produce a certificate of his birth,—he must not be under fourteen nor above eighteen years of age,—must have no bodily or mental defect to disqualify him for military service,—be able to write a good legible hand,—to read and construe Cæsar's Commentaries,—be expert in vulgar and decimal fractions,—and have a good character from the master under whom he last studied. Such cadets as the public examiner reports duly qualified are appointed to the corps of artillery. Those who possess superior diligence, talents, and attainments, are selected for the engineers, and sent, with the rank of ensign, to finish their education at Chatham, where they remain a year, and are clothed and maintained at the Company's expense. Cavalry and infantry cadets receive appointments direct for India without going to the seminary, but are required to possess the same qualifications as the candidates for Addiscombe, except in point of age. They must be above sixteen, and under twenty-two, unless they have been one year in his majesty's service; in which case they are eligible, if not more than twenty-five. Their equipment and the expenses of the voyage, defrayed by themselves, always exceed £200, and on a very liberal scale will amount to £400. A list of the articles necessary for a complete outfit, is given by Captain Dalrymple in the succeeding volume.* As soon as they arrive there they begin to receive pay, and on the first vacancy are appointed to the rank of ensign. From this time, with ordinary good conduct, their promotion is assured, and they rise by successive steps, as vacancies occur, to the rank of colonel. The emoluments considerably exceed those enjoyed in her majesty's regiments at home. The following is the amount in rupees per month, reckoned, according to the allowance of full batta when in the field, or of half when in garrison :—

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* Page 342.

	Half Batta.		Full Batta.	
	Horse.	Foot.	Horse.	Foot.
Colonel	1467	1280	1467	1280
Lieutenant-colonel	948	820	1148	1020
Major	777	635	922	780
Captain	520	371	560	411
Lieutenant	333	224	363	254
Cornet or ensign	289	180	309	200

After twenty-two years of active service an officer may retire on full pay. He has the option, at the middle of this period, of spending three years in Europe, during which he has only the ordinary British pay, while he thereby extends his servitude to twenty-five years; besides, if his absence is protracted beyond five years, he forfeits his commission. Where he has enjoyed no extraordinary advantage, the continuance of his pay for life is the only benefit with which he returns to England; the great expense of living, as well as of moving from one station to another, rendering it difficult to save any thing from his income. Some, however, by interest or talent, obtain separate appointments and commands, or are sent on missions to native courts, which afforded at one time the means of realizing immense fortunes, and on account of the importance of the duty have still considerable emoluments attached to them.

The civil servants, usually called writers, receive their appointment from the same quarter as the cadets; but as their prospects of wealth are greater, higher interest is necessary to procure it. They are educated in the East India College at Haileybury. It is provided, that no candidate shall be nominated until he has completed the sixteenth year of his age. No person who has been dismissed the army or navy, or has been expelled from any place of public education, is received into the college. No student can be nominated to a place in India, whose age is less than eighteen, or more than twenty-two years; nor until he shall have resided one term at least at Haileybury, and obtained a certificate, signed

by the principal in the name of the council, of his having conformed himself to the statutes and regulations of the seminary. He must farther declare, that he accepts the office of his own free will and choice. For some years the number educated in this establishment was insufficient to supply the demands for the civil service; and, by act of Parliament, the directors were empowered to admit candidates for civil stations, under the following conditions:—That a board of examiners, consisting of two professors from Oxford, and two from Cambridge, be appointed to examine the candidate in classics, mathematics, and history. A proficiency in the native tongues is not absolutely required for this class of writers at the examination; but no civil servant in India can enter upon his official duties unless he be master of at least two Oriental languages. He must produce testimonials of good moral conduct from the principal or superior authority of the public institution where he may have been educated. But this mode of selecting writers has been for some time discontinued, and all civil appointments are confined to the college. These nominations are in the gift of the directors. A yearly return is prepared of the number required to fill vacancies occasioned by death or retirement; and when this is ascertained, the patronage is divided among them individually, so that they are at liberty to name any one they please, under certain stipulations. A writership is considered so valuable, as to be solicited by parents in the first circles of society; for it opens to an active and intelligent young man an extended sphere of usefulness and laudable ambition. On his arrival in India, the juvenile civilian is allowed twelve or fifteen months to complete his acquirements in the native languages; after which, if he has not rendered himself master of at least two, he must resign and return to England. During this period of probation his talent for some particular line is generally developed, and he is selected for the diplomatic, the judicial, the revenue, or the commercial department,—in all of which the emoluments are good, and the pro-

motion principally dependent upon zeal and ability. A member of council is the highest post such a person can hold, except the governorship of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras. These places are filled up by the court of directors: all other appointments emanate from the governor or governor-general in council. In India, where there are only enough of officers for the work to be performed, there can be no sinecures and no deputies. If a man is idle or incompetent, he must remain contented with a duty of minor importance. There is scarcely a native in the whole country, and certainly not one in a subordinate capacity, who could conduct the daily correspondence of a civilian at a remote station,—he himself must therefore write, or the *hookam* for his recall will quickly be issued. Many of this class return to England in the prime of life with large fortunes. Their attachment to the service and practical knowledge of business make such gentlemen most eligible candidates for the East India direction. A civil servant may retire after twenty-five years' residence (which includes three years' furlough) on an annuity of £1000 per annum, secured to him by annual contribution to a fund created for that purpose. A fund is also appropriated to the relief of the widows and orphans of the same class of officers, who, of course, are obliged to subscribe. The military are likewise compelled to support an institution for similar purposes. To all these benevolent objects the Company contribute most liberally.

A considerable number of *medical* practitioners are also attached to the extensive army maintained by the Company. Assistant-surgeons for India, who are not received under twenty-two years of age, must be qualified by diploma or certificate from the Royal College of Surgeons, as well as by an attestation from the Company's examining physician. In service they pass through successive *grades* analogous to those of the regimental officers. Assistant-surgeon corresponds to lieutenant, full-surgeon to captain, superintending-surgeon to major; junior member of the medical board to lieutenant-colonel;

senior member to colonel. The most advantageous situation is that of surgeon to a native prince; and those attached to the residencies at foreign courts receive staff-allowance in addition to their pay. Some are employed in garrisons, while others remain at the presidencies, where they have the chance of obtaining practice among opulent Englishmen and natives. Medical officers also, after a certain period, retire on a liberal allowance.

The following is the annual number of cadets and assistant-surgeons who have been sent out at different periods:—

Years.	Cadets.	Assistant Surgeons.	Years.	Cadets.	Assistant Surgeons.
1810	183	27	1825	567	53
1815	26	33	1830	90	42
1820	460	62	1832	21	6

All persons receiving appointments, whether civil or military, are required to give a solemn pledge that no pecuniary or other consideration has been given in exchange. Any individual so offending, in case of discovery at the time, or even at any future period, forfeits all his advantages, and is subject to a criminal prosecution by act of Parliament.

Among the residents in India may also be mentioned the judges and officers of the queen's supreme courts; the members of the church establishment, who receive their appointments from the court of directors; and the royal troops serving in that country. All these, however, usually go out at an advanced age with their habits already formed. The private merchants, we may add, are a considerable and very influential class.

The prospects of wealth and independence which India opens to the young adventurer are not always realized. Though his income is probably more liberal than he would have enjoyed at home, the necessary expenses are large, and there are many temptations to extravagance.

The Hindoos and the British have two entirely dif-

ferent modes of spending money. The former employ it in numerous trains of attendants, and occasional but magnificent public exhibitions, while their daily fare and domestic habits are simple in the extreme. At home, the English with much less regard to show, study chiefly good living and comfortable accommodation; but in India they unite both these modes of expenditure. The pomp is dictated to them by the prevailing fashion of the East, and the necessity of obtaining respect among the people; while the luxury of the table is conformable to their previous habits, and necessary to preserve their influence among their countrymen.

The maintenance of a numerous body of servants is an expense which the usages of Hindostan unavoidably entail upon the European resident. This is the kind of state in which, above all others, the opulent natives delight; and in conformity to it a system has been established, by which each domestic appropriates to himself a peculiar and very limited function, beyond which he will on no account proceed. There must be a flambeau-bearer, water-carrier, water-cooler, palanquin-bearers, pipe-holder, grass-cutter, and others whose duties are as strictly defined. The obstinacy with which the natives adhere to every thing connected with caste and employment, renders it impossible to break through these restrictions. A servant of all work is quite unattainable; and hence, for a family, thirty domestics are considered a very moderate establishment. But this remark, in its full force, chiefly applies to Calcutta, for at Madras and Bombay the subdivision of work is much less minute, and consequently the number required is less formidable. This body of menials, however, is maintained at no very extravagant cost. Their usual pay is small, amounting in the case of palanquin-bearers to not more than four rupees monthly, though the upper servants receive from ten to twenty, and sometimes even more; but they supply themselves with food and clothing, and generally live out of the house. The expense is therefore not sc great as might be apprehended, and it consists in a fixed

rate of wages, which may always be exactly calculated. Most of those employed, therefore, especially in the civil service, might, with due economy, easily support themselves in comfort, and retire with a competent fortune. As the income, too, of every individual is known from the situation which he holds, there is no temptation to impose on the public by false appearances. But thoughtless youths, with a liberal allowance and an assurance of progressive advancement, accustomed perhaps to expensive habits at home, and removed from the eye of their relations, are too apt to indulge in a profuse style of living. A debt, which their augmenting resources may enable them easily to discharge, appears no very serious evil. They obtain ample loans from the native baboo, or money-lender, a most accommodating and profligate person, who readily advances funds to almost any extent. As soon as, by the accumulation of principal and interest, he has got the young Englishman completely in his power, he begins to act as a superior, insists on providing him with a sircar, or superintendent of the household, through whose hands all his money must pass. This functionary defrauds in every possible shape, acts in collusion with the different tradesmen employed, and often obliges his master to incur dishonour by appointing him to places of importance and emolument. In short, the unhappy youth sinks deeper and deeper, till, when the time comes that he ought to have returned to Europe, he finds himself overwhelmed in hopeless embarrassment.

As a capital, Calcutta differs in many important respects from those of Europe. It has not a single place of public amusement—no theatres—no gaming-houses. It has no galleries of painting or sculpture, very few institutions for useful or scientific purposes—only one literary society, the Asiatic; but, we must add, it enjoys a fine botanical garden belonging to the Company.* This description applies equally to Madras and Bombay.

* See vol. iii. p. 121.

Private theatricals, however, are common all over India, more particularly at the presidencies. Masquerades are frequent, and often successful; music is much cultivated, and considerable encouragement bestowed on professors. Some years ago in Calcutta, a French family of musicians having been unfortunate, a concert was got up for their benefit. The performers were amateur ladies and gentlemen, and the tickets *one hundred rupees* each; in three days the sum received was upwards of 10,000 rupees,—a splendid, but far from solitary instance of benevolence. In European cities, the class of society who may be termed the managers of social intercourse and amusement are independent persons of no profession. In India there is no such class, unless, overlooking the difference of sex, we turn to our fair countrywomen, and perhaps it may not be improperly said that they are the directors of social pleasure.

The habit of early rising is so essential to health and comfort, that few persons of either sex are found to prolong their slumbers beyond gun-fire, which is the moment of sunrise. To ride or drive at this time is peculiarly grateful. As the gentlemen holding official situations seldom have their offices attached to a private dwelling, they are necessarily absent from home during the greater part of the day. In the morning the amusements of the ladies are various, but wholly different from those of a fashionable woman in England. The native dealers carry their tempting wares to the houses, and it is no unusual thing to see the apartments strewed with the splendid productions of Cashmere and other rare commodities of the East. Yet Indian ornaments are seldom worn where they are so common, and an article of dress fresh from Europe is more highly prized. It is not meant to be insinuated that the whole morning is thus occupied. In no part of the world is female influence more deeply felt, or more beneficially exercised, than in India. There is nothing in the climate to prevent the cultivation of all those accomplishments for which the daughters of Britain are so justly famed;

and, to the honour of the sex, they neglect none of those elevating pursuits which so strikingly distinguish the English gentlewoman. Many visits are paid about two o'clock, the time of *tiffin*, which is a very sociable and substantial meal. After this repast the gentlemen return to their official occupations, and the ladies retire to their apartments to read or rest as inclination dictates. In the evening the whole Indian world, British and native, able to sport an equipage, sally forth to breathe the cool air. In Calcutta the race-course is the point of attraction; at Madras the Mount Road; whilst round the whole island of Bombay runs a very beautiful drive, one turning of which has by the gossips been denominated Scandal Point,—another, Love Grove.

Large dinner-parties are common, and, notwithstanding the heat, go off well. The apartments are spacious, and the *punkah*, which extends over the whole table, moderates the temperature. Each person is attended by his own servant or servants. In a company composed of individuals from different parts of India, the variety of costume exhibited in the dress of their respective attendants is very striking. The colours displayed in the turban and cumberbund are usually those which in Europe would constitute the livery. For the reasons already mentioned, a numerous retinue is absolutely necessary. The khidmutgar or personal servant often becomes much attached, and enters very fully into all the habits of his master.

At all the presidencies the parties at the government-house on "red letter days" are on a scale of great magnificence, and the invitation is given by advertisement in the newspaper, addressed to all persons in the service of her Majesty and the Company. On these occasions great attention is paid to precedence; and at one time matters assumed so formidable an aspect in this particular, that reference was made to George the Fourth, who decided that hereditary should be preferred to official rank. The influence which a governor or governor-general possesses over society is very great, more par-

ticularly as a by-law of the Company obliges all their servants to obtain his sanction and permission before entering into the state of matrimony.

The chase, from the variety of fierce and powerful animals with which the Indian jungles abound, and which are described by Mr Wilson under the head of Zoology, is rendered a noble and inspiriting occupation, in which the younger British officers take particular delight, though its fatigues beneath a burning sky often seriously injure their health. Hunting the fox with hounds, after our fashion, the natives take no interest in; but Englishmen carry all their diversions with them, go where they will. In the Peninsular campaigns, the army had its pack; so in every part of India the chase is pursued with all that ardour and contempt of danger so peculiar to our countrymen. Snipe-shooting also possesses many attractions; but being usually practised during the burning heat of noon, it can scarcely be indulged in without incurring the hazard of deep injury to the constitution.

The aspect of English society in India is splendid. The government-house at Calcutta is completely an eastern palace; its two principal apartments are decorated with pillars covered with the cement called chunam, which makes them resemble Parian marble; and they are considered by Mrs Graham the finest she ever saw. The quarter called Chouringee is described by Lord Valentia as a village of palaces, strangely contrasting with the Black Town, a huge assemblage of mud and thatched huts, similar to the poorest cabins of the Irish peasantry. The aspect of Calcutta, notwithstanding the difference of climate, strongly suggested to Bishop Heber what he had seen in Russia; "the size of the houses, their whiteness, and Palladian porticos, the loftiness of the rooms, and the scanty furniture, the unbounded hospitality, and apparent love of display,—all reminded me of Petersburg and Moscow." In general the English have a taste for country seats in the vicinity of the towns. Barrackpore in Bengal, the country residence of the

governor-general, is described as a delightful spot. English Madras is spread over a great extent of ground, the families having what are termed their garden-houses, usually several miles distant from the native town and government offices.

The social character of the English in India resembles that of their countrymen at home, modified by their peculiar situation. They are animated by an extremely hospitable and generous temper. Their easy circumstances enable them to indulge this disposition, which finds scope in the great number of British subjects who go out to seek a home in that distant land. Any gentleman provided with an introduction to a family is invited to take up his abode with them, and continues a welcome guest till he can at full leisure make his own arrangements. Lord Valentia assures us, that families left destitute by the death of their head have often, by the generosity of their acquaintances, been placed in a situation of comfort, and even of affluence, which their relation, had he lived, could not have secured to them. Since his time, however, funds established at the different presidencies provide liberally for widows and children, in a manner less painful to their feelings. The peculiar circumstances of Indian society give it a less varied character than that of Europe. Most of the residents go out very young, and they return before reaching an advanced age; so that old persons of either sex scarcely ever make part of any company. On the other hand young ladies, whose presence contributes so much to the animation and polish of European society, appear only in very small numbers. These peculiarities, however, have diminished of late years, many families having sprung up who send their children to England for education; on completing which, the young men go out with civil or military appointments, and the young ladies to reside with their parents. The pride of country is said to prevail here still more decidedly than among Englishmen at home. It is true that the British can justly boast a great supe-

riority of information, and still more of military talent, over all the oriental races; and this sentiment, though sometimes carried too far, has the effect of inspiring honourable feelings, and securing against temptations to mean or mercenary conduct.

There is another grade of Indian society who have excited a painful and increasing interest; the individuals, namely, who have sprung from European fathers by native mothers. Mr Ricketts supposes the number in Bengal to be 20,000, of whom 2000 are educated, and about 1000 employed as clerks and copyists. This class have been much at a loss for an appropriate appellation. The original one of *Half-caste*, derived from Hindoo ideas, is unjust and insulting, while that of *Eurasians* was affected and obscure. Sir John Malcolm uses *Anglo-Indians;* the Friend of India proposed *Indo-Britons;* but *East Indians*, though not very strictly appropriate, is that which they themselves have preferred. In several memorials lately addressed to the British parliament, they paint in strong colours the hardships of their situation,—enjoying the privileges neither of Europeans nor Indians; having the benefit neither of British nor Hindoo law; and excluded from offices of trust, to which even natives are admitted. Although these complaints seem to be somewhat exaggerated, and though they have the advantage over Englishmen in being able, in right of their mothers, to hold lands, it yet appears that, in respect to employments, they labour under considerable hardship. This jealous exclusion is perhaps prompted by the dread lest, considering themselves only as natives of India, they may be disposed to erect an independent power in that country; though, it is obvious, so severe a proscription is more likely than any thing else to realize that very fear. Lord Valentia considers the increase of this class as affording ground for serious alarm. The writer on the "Free Trade and Colonization of India" contends, on the contrary, that it is rapidly diminishing. He observes, that European ladies are now much more nume-

rous in India, and are naturally viewed with preference by their own countrymen,—while East Indian girls are ambitious of forming connexions with gentlemen from Britain,—in which, if possessed of any attraction, they find little difficulty, and the offspring ranks as English. At present two journals in Calcutta are conducted by men of that lineage, who naturally advocate the interests of their class.

Connected with the state of British society in India is another subject which has justly excited the deepest interest at home. We have already surveyed the vast fabric which superstition has reared in that country, and within which the mind and social system of this great people are, as it were, imprisoned. Hence they are not only shut out from the light of truth, but debarred from many of the best means of developing their intellectual and moral powers. If this gloom could be illumined by the benignant light of Christianity, the most signal benefit would undoubtedly be conferred on that extensive portion of the eastern world; yet the strongest prejudices were long felt in the highest quarter against any effort for promoting this object. The laudable resolution against compulsory interference with the native religion, was combined with a fear that any attempts at persuasion, made by English teachers, would be looked upon as indicative of a disposition to employ more violent methods hereafter, and that an alarm thus excited among the influential classes would render the people hostile to British dominion. The Company, therefore, during a long period, did not support any ecclesiastical establishment, and even discouraged the residence of clergymen of any denomination, or with any object. Experience has now proved that these apprehensions were unfounded. The natives, after witnessing the settlement of a body of established ministers, and the most active missionary exertions, have remained satisfied with the ample toleration secured by the government. They have even formed a

better opinion of their conquerors, since they have discovered that they are not, as was supposed, destitute of all religion, but have, like themselves, a form of worship, and even Shastras, or sacred books, in which it is contained.

The intelligence and zeal displayed by the missionaries in the East are such as reflect honour upon human nature. The first place must undoubtedly be yielded to those of the Baptist persuasion, whose learned labours in the prosecution of their pious undertaking have excited the general admiration of Europe. Their important mission arose from very small beginnings. In October 1792, a few of their ministers met at Kettering in Northamptonshire, and resolved to form a society for the propagation of the gospel; subscribing a sum which, in the first instance, fell short of fourteen pounds. When the object, however, became known, it met with extensive approbation, and contributions were received on a scale so liberal as to enable the society to engage two gentlemen as missionaries. The choice, by peculiarly good fortune, fell upon Messrs Thomas and Carey. The former had made several voyages to Bengal as a surgeon, in the course of which he became known to Mr Charles Grant, who afterwards acquired great influence in Indian affairs, and who, duly appreciating his character, exhorted him to devote himself to the task of converting the Hindoos. After considerable hesitation he resolved to follow this course, and entered with the utmost alacrity into the views of the Society. His colleague, Mr Carey of Leicester, had long felt a deep zeal for the conversion of the heathen, which he manifested both in his conversation and discourses: he was actuated also by an ardent desire of geographical knowledge, and possessed a great facility in acquiring languages; so that he was pointed out as unusually well qualified for this arduous destination. He and Mr Thomas, on being introduced for the first time as colleagues in this philanthropic design, could not refrain from shedding tears.

The missionaries arrived in Bengal about the end of 1793. They were at first considerably discouraged by the difficulties which beset their path, particularly in respect to pecuniary resources; but, next year, they were engaged to superintend two indigo manufactories, farmed by a Mr Udny near Maulda, which at once afforded funds, a point of contact with the natives, and the means of giving employment to the converts. They laboured several years with much zeal but slender success, when, in 1799, Messrs Marshman, Ward, Brunsdon, and Grant, entered the Hoogley in an American vessel. Finding some obstacles to landing at Calcutta, they took up their residence at Serampore, where their two predecessors were induced to join them; and the mission assumed that form under which it has since proved so effective. They entered into an agreement to throw all their funds, public and private, into a general stock, to keep a simple table in common, and, after a moderate allowance for other domestic purposes, to devote the surplus to the great objects of their undertaking. Mr Carey, who had now acquired an extensive knowledge of the Indian languages, was chiefly instrumental in making the translations; while Mr Ward, who had been bred a printer, superintended the founts of types, which were cut by a native family. The first fruit of their labours was the publication, in February 1801, of the New Testament in Bengalee. The high acquirements of Mr Carey being now fully recognised, he was appointed by Marquis Wellesley professor of that language and of Sanscrit in the college of Fort William, with a salary of £1500 a-year, which, notwithstanding the occupation of his time, afforded valuable means of extending his usefulness.

The associates now prosecuted their task of translation with the utmost activity. In 1806, they issued proposals for publishing the Sacred Scriptures in fifteen of the principal Oriental languages; and they have since been indefatigably employed in redeeming this great pledge. To say nothing of their grammars, dic-

tionaries, and other literary works, it appears by the most recent accounts, that the entire Bible has been printed, and copies circulated, in the Sanscrit, Bengalee, Hindee, Mahratta, and Orissa. The New Testament, by itself, has been printed, and copies circulated in the following twenty-four dialects spoken in India, viz. :—Nepalee, Palpa, Kemaoon, Serinagur, Jumboo, Cashmere, Magadha, Kanouge, Brij-Bhaka, Pushtoo, Seik, Batneir, Bikaneer, Moultanee, Marwar, Guzeratee, Ougeinee, Harotee, Bhugulkhund, Telinga, Carnata, Kunkun, Cossyah, and Munipoora. Besides these, versions of the Old Testament in Pushtoo, Cashmere, and Orissa, are now in the press. The population, to whom these Indian languages are vernacular, amounts to more than one hundred millions.

Besides Serampore, native churches or stations, with preachers and schools, have been formed at Dum-dum, Barrepore, Jessore, Burisahl, Dacca, Chittagong, Dinagepore, and Saddamahl, in Bengal ; at Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Delhi, in Hindostan Proper.

This body have for some years had their operations much impeded by deficiency of funds, and a misunderstanding with the parent society in England, into the particulars of which we do not purpose to enter. We are happy to learn that in April 1838 all differences were adjusted, and that the two bodies now form only one, the Indian baptists acting under the direction of those at home. They have been recently aided by donations from the Calcutta Bible Society, and by a very liberal one of 15,000 dollars from a similar body in America. Their exertions of late have been chiefly directed to the printing and circulating large impressions of the New Testament in Bengalee.

The London Missionary Society, founded on a great scale in 1795, directed their attention first to the islands of the South Sea, and afterwards to Southern Africa. In 1804, however, they despatched three missionaries to India, two of whom went to Vizagapatam in the Northern Circars, the other to the southern district of Tinne-

velly. They have since extended their operations to various others parts of the empire. In 1816, they founded an establishment at Calcutta, where for some years they met with very little success; but having in 1823 formed a settlement at Kidderpore in the vicinity of the capital, they saw themselves in the centre of a circle of villages, which showed a much greater disposition to embrace the gospel than had appeared in any other district. In 1826, an idol was removed from a Hindoo temple, and the building converted into a place of Christian worship. The society have even succeeded in forming a small native church in Calcutta.

The Church Missionary Society, instituted in 1800, directed their first exertions to the civilisation of Africa, and particularly to the settlement at Sierra Leone; nor was it till about 1812 that they began to employ agents in Calcutta and Madras. These establishments have since been very greatly enlarged, so as to render this one of the chief theatres of their pious exertions. They have particularly sought to promote their object by the erection of schools, in which a communication of the superior knowledge possessed by Europeans accompanies or prepares for initiation into sound religious views. This Society have now stations, with catechists and native assistants, at Calcutta, Dum-dum, Culna, and Burdwan (large towns in the west of Bengal), Buxar, Benares, Allahabad, Gooracpore, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Agra, Meerut, Canoul. In Western India they have one at Bandora, seven miles from Bombay; in the south, at Tellicherry, Cochin, Cottayam, and Allepie (about thirty miles south-east of Cochin), Palamcotta, Mayaveram (160 miles south-south-west of Madras), Madras, and Pulicate.

In December 1838, according to the Calcutta Christian Observer, they had 319 stations and outstations, served by forty-nine missionaries and 388 assistants, a number of whom are native. The Scottish Missionary Society have also some stations at Bombay.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by

means of collections and contributions made under their sanction, have established a considerable and important mission in India. They have at present four missionaries at Calcutta, four at Bombay, and three at Madras. The plan adopted and set on foot with equal zeal and judgment by Dr Duff, was to combine a faithful and zealous exposition of the doctrines of the gospel with a high standard of secular instruction, embracing not only reading and writing, but natural and mental philosophy, mathematics, and chemistry. These schools attract the native youth in great numbers, bring them in contact with the missionaries, and pave the way for their receiving Christian instruction. The new school-house at Calcutta, when opened on the 1st January 1838, drew an attendance of 645, and it was believed, if room could have been found, that the number would have risen to 1000. The school at Bombay was also very flourishing, and the mixture of races was there very striking, including Parsees, Arabs, Persians, and Armenians: altogether 1000 were receiving instruction. Mr Mitchell, on entering on the task of tuition, was struck with the ardour displayed by his pupils. "I have taught," says he, "classes of young boys at home; but they never equalled our young Asiatics in animation. When a question is coming *down*, it is a most interesting sight to see the impassioned gesticulation (in this respect the natives of India appear to exceed even the French nation); the little eyes sparkle, and the hand is extended in breathless eagerness.—Up to the age of nineteen, the mind appears quicker in its perception, and readier in applying its knowledge, than in Europe; and I have seldom met with young men of the same age who better understood the propositions of Euclid or the principles of mental philosophy, than the classes who enjoy the instructions, on these subjects, of Dr Wilson and Mr Nesbit." Through the valuable exertions of Mrs Wilson, wife to the principal missionary, female schools have been established with greater success than in almost any other quarter; and, though the lamented death of

that lady was a severe blow, there is no want of teachers to supply her place. With regard to these pupils too, the same gentleman observes: "Animation, life, and intelligence run through all of them." At Madras, also, there is a school attended by upwards of 200.

These exertions made by European societies have of late been powerfully seconded by the residents in India. The indifference which too long prevailed there on the subject of religion, has been succeeded by a very ardent zeal for its diffusion. An Auxiliary Missionary Society has been formed in Bengal, which maintains fourteen missionaries, and the same number of assistants; it has five churches, to which belong 150 members, and supports twenty-one schools, attended by about 1200 scholars. Auxiliary Bible Societies have also been formed at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, which have respectively issued 221,000, 193,000, and 91,000 copies of the Sacred Scriptures. Branches have been established at Meerut, Benares, Cawnpore, Bellary, Trichinopoly, and Poonah. A Tract Society has likewise been formed at Calcutta, and received large donations from that in London; its chief view being to supply books and tracts to the schools and colleges founded for native instruction. In 1837, the number issued throughout India, exclusive of Bengal and Travancore, amounted to 665,000. The proceeds of the sales were £49,000; so that very moderate funds were sufficient to carry on the extensive operations of the Society.

In regard to the effects produced by these exertions, it is admitted by the missionaries themselves, that in regard to actual conversion to the principles of Christianity, it is every where "the day of small things." Even of those few who have felt the evidence of evangelical truth, a limited proportion only have been able to break through the chains of caste, habit, and social ties, because they would thereby have made themselves outcasts from all their friends and countrymen. Yet the teachers are not discouraged; and not only their own testimony, but that of others not peculiarly biassed in favour of

their views, seems to prove that a powerful impression has been made upon the mind of the people of India; that the vast and dark fabric of superstition has been shaken to its basis. This remark is particularly applicable to Calcutta and other metropolitan cities, whence an influence must be ultimately diffused through the nation in general. There is a spirit of inquiry gone abroad respecting this foreign religion, which is admitted to be a holy one; the volume of Scripture, now rendered accessible, is eagerly sought for and perused; and the purity of its doctrines and precepts has in a great measure opened the eyes of the more intelligent to the deformities of their native superstition. Many have renounced their belief in the creed of Brahma, while others desire that it should be thoroughly reformed; the grosser observances are falling into disuse; and Calcutta, it is said, is gradually ceasing to exhibit the aspect of an idolatrous city. There is indeed still a numerous body who view these innovations with horror, and have formed societies, as the Dharma Subha, for maintaining the ancient system unaltered, of preventing attendance on the missionary schools, and cutting off all communication with them. Being opposed, however, by the more active and intelligent members of the community, they are gradually losing ground, and it seems scarcely doubted in any quarter, that a great revolution in the Hindoo faith is in progress, and cannot even be very distant.

One auspicious circumstance has already followed the intercourse thus opened to the Hindoos with some of the best members of the European population. The system of associating for the spread of information and the relief of distress, formerly almost unknown, is becoming general. A society has been established for the diffusion of useful knowledge, where a young man lately gave a lecture on anatomy, with illustrations from Paley's Theology. Debating clubs have been formed among the youth of Calcutta; to which have been added others for charitable purposes, to one of which an opulent native, Devarkanath Tagore, subscribed a lac of rupees (£10,000). Native free schools have also been founded in various places.

Although the British government wisely abstain from all direct interference with the religious tenets or observances of their Indian subjects, a different course has been pursued wherever these involve a violation of the first principles of moral obligation. Such, in many instances, is the case with the debasing superstition which has long held sway among them; its unhappy votaries being taught, that to destroy their own life or the life of those dearest to them, is the path to divine favour and immortal felicity. Nearly thirty years ago, the Marquis Wellesley issued an ordinance prohibiting the sacrifice by parents of their infant offspring to the Ganges; and, contrary to what was by many expected and predicted, this step was not only acquiesced in, but warmly applauded by a number of the natives. The *suttee*, or the burning of widows on the funeral-pile of their husbands, was a practice held so sacred, and so deeply rooted in all the feelings of the Hindoos, that it was long considered hazardous to touch it. Yet the Company, in compliance with the strongly expressed opinion of many pious and enlightened persons at home, at length authorized Lord William Bentinck to issue an order for its discontinuance. The appearance of this document produced a very strong sensation in India, and strikingly displayed the different views of the two classes into which its population is now divided. An address was presented from a body of Hindoos, respectable by their numbers and still more by their wealth and intelligence, highly applauding the measure, and declaring that the practice thereby prohibited formed no essential part of their religious system. But other individuals at Calcutta, earnestly devoted to the ancient usages, formed themselves into the society already mentioned, called the Dharma Subha, for the purpose of restoring this sacred rite, which they say has been continued millions of years under the successive eras of the satya, treta, dwapar, and cali yugs. They have organized themselves on the model of the religious societies in England, with a president, secretary, subscription-papers, and corresponding branches; and, having called upon every holy Hindoo to contribute

his mite to the pious work, have raised considerable sums to promote the objects of the institution, while they have renounced all social intercourse with those of their countrymen who follow an opposite course. The other party, however, who are called the Brama Subha, considering the Shastras in their favour, treat these violent proceedings with indifference, and continue steadily to support the humane views of the British government.

Another arrangement with regard to the native religion has been the subject of much and serious discussion. With whatever pain the worship in the idol temples may be viewed, government, on the principles of toleration, are bound to leave it unmolested. But they go farther ; they mix themselves up with this idolatrous service, deriving from it a very considerable revenue. The mere levy of a tax upon pilgrims proceeding to the different shrines, might seem chiefly objectionable as a slight form of persecution, though it appears scarcely to be felt by the natives as such. But the Company, moreover, take the entire management of the temples, receive the offerings, keep the gods, altars, and cars in repair, pay the priests and officiating Bramins, and place the balance in their own exchequer. On the continued and urgent representations, however, of Mr Poynder, and other pious directors, they have issued orders to their servants in India to withdraw themselves henceforth from all connexion with the native worship. They only defend the expediency of continuing certain outward marks of respect, as escorts of troops, or firing of guns, usually made on occasion of religious festivals, but which they consider as merely testimonies of respect to distinguished individuals who act a part in these processions. This, however, is a nice distinction, into which it may be doubted if the mind of the Hindoo will enter ; nor, after what he has endured, does there seem any serious ground to apprehend, that the removal of such an empty show of respect will excite any serious discontent.

CHAPTER X.

Industry and Commerce of India.

Prevalent Ideas of Indian Wealth—In a great Degree fallacious—State of Agriculture—Poverty of the Cultivator—Rice—Cotton—Opium—Silk—Sugar—Tobacco—Indigo—Pepper—Manufactures of Cotton—Silk—Working in Gold, &c.—Decline of Manufactures—Commerce—Commodities—Mode of conducting the Trade—The Company—Effects of free Trade—Tables of Exports and Imports.

Extravagant ideas respecting the wealth of India long prevailed in every part of the Western World. The pomp which surrounded its sovereigns, and the precious commodities furnished by its commerce, gave the idea of a country in which the most profuse abundance reigned. A more extensive acquaintance has proved this impression to be extremely fallacious; the opulence being confined to the princes and high officers, or to a few merchants and monied men in the great cities, while the labouring class, by whom the splendid wares are produced, are sunk in the deepest poverty. An intelligent writer, in the "Friend of India," expresses his belief that the rent generally paid by the ryot in the rich province of Bengal does not amount to forty rupees annually. Sir Thomas Munro states the same sum as the average payment of a district in the Carnatic which he minutely surveyed, and is of opinion that there was not a single cultivator worth £500. As the rent in India usually exceeds a third of the gross produce, a farm can yield only a very small income; which, however, enables the tenants to keep over their heads a house that can be

built in three days, of mud, straw, and leaves, to eat daily a few handfuls of rice, and to wrap themselves in a coarse cotton robe. Their situation may be considered as ranking below that of the Irish peasantry. The ordinary pay of a rural labourer is only from fifty to seventy shillings a-year, which indeed, compared with the price of necessaries, may be worth from £4, 10s. to £6 in Britain; but with this small sum he must provide his whole food, clothing, and habitation. Cheap labour, however, is of little avail to the employer, from its being performed in so slovenly and inefficient a manner as to make the work of four Hindoos scarcely equal to that of one Englishman. The implements of agriculture also are of the most defective and imperfect form. The name of plough can scarcely be applied to the machine which is used for stirring the soil. It has neither coulter nor mould-board; the handle communicates little power of directing it; and the share does not penetrate the ground more than three inches. The business of the harrow is performed by an instrument like a ladder, on which the husbandman stands, while rough bushes attached to it assist in covering the seed. The rotation of crops is a principle unknown in India; every thing possible is drawn from the ground till it is completely exhausted, when it is again recruited, not by a regular fallow, but by being left for some time unoccupied. Manure is scarcely at all employed; indeed that of the cow being accounted holy, and largely applied to sacred purposes, is far too valuable to be spread upon the earth. There are, however, as is observed by Professor Jameson, some soils in India so very fertile that they continue to bear crops without intermission. The wealth of the farmer consists almost wholly in his bullocks; and according to the number he can rear or purchase is the extent of land which he cultivates. The only means of fertility on which art or toil is expended to any great extent is irrigation, which, indeed, in a tropical climate, is of all others the most essential. In addition to the supply furnished by the

great rivers, princes and wealthy individuals, influenced by public spirit, form tanks, ponds, or reservoirs, for the general advantage ; and wooden troughs or buckets are used for raising the water into channels, by which it is conveyed over the adjoining fields. The Madras provinces in particular, where a great portion of the surface is arid, depend for their productiveness almost entirely upon irrigation. The ancient works of this kind, of which traces still appear, were most extraordinary. Rivers have been dammed up, so as to form lakes, whence the surrounding country is watered, and canals are conducted sometimes to the distance of sixty or seventy miles. Of these, on some of the great rivers, between thirty and forty have been constructed. The Cavery, near Trichinopoly, is forced up by a mound, and spread in innumerable branches over an elevated district. In other places the waters that descend from the hills are collected into tanks, many of which are not less than fifteen or twenty-five miles in circumference. Before the year 1750, these great works were nearly complete; but during the wars that have since ensued, and we must add under British sway, they have been greatly neglected. Indeed, they suffer so severely from floods and storms, that without continual repairs they soon go to ruin. Within the last twenty years, however, the attention of government was drawn to this subject ; a superintendent of tanks was appointed, and from £60,000 to £80,000 have been annually spent upon them. A great addition has thus been made to the population of the country, and also to the revenue, which is said to derive from the inundations of the Cavery alone an amount of £535,000. In Bengal about £40,000 is spent for the same purpose ; but in the western provinces and the Bombay presidency, it has not yet attracted due attention. Over the whole empire, indeed, there seems room for improvement in this branch of national economy on a more extended scale than has hitherto been adopted.

The periodical rains constitute the chief source of production in India, and their partial or total failure

occasions the most desolating famines. During the dreadful one which afflicted Bengal in 1770, several millions of the natives are supposed to have perished. Another almost equally fatal raged in 1838, especially in the north-western provinces. It was so far alleviated by the bounty both of individuals and of the government, that 80,000 persons at one time received, at Agra, daily distributions of food ; yet even this liberality could not prevent many from becoming the victims of want.

The situation of the Hindoo ryot is still farther depressed by the load of debt with which he is usually burdened. Even his slender means are found to tempt the avidity of the muhajuns or money-lenders, who enrich themselves by charging an interest of 36 per cent. on the small loans which he almost constantly requires. It is said that, in eight cases out of ten, at the beginning of the season, both the seed and his own subsistence are advanced to him till the period of harvest ; consequently when the crop is reaped, it does not belong to the cultivator, but is seized by these usurers, whose exactions, with those of the zemindar, would soon crush him altogether, were it not necessary for their own interest to stop short of his entire ruin.

It has been already observed, that the penury of the agricultural classes is less conspicuous in Guzerat, which Mr Forbes and Mr Elphinstone agree in representing as the most flourishing province of India. It seems to owe this advantage to its great fertility, joined to its retired and insular situation, which preserved it both from a thorough subjection to Mogul despotism, and from the ravages of the Mahratta invaders.

The very imperfect state of culture in part of India is strikingly displayed when we consider that the territory is above four times the extent of the British islands, and is so decidedly superior in fertility, that a large portion of it yields two crops in the year ; yet an intelligent writer estimates the annual produce of every description of grain at not more than 54,000,000 quarters, which is not supposed to exceed the quantity con-

sumed in the United Kingdom. If the same amount supports in the one case twenty-five, and in the other eighty millions of people, this must be imputed to that rigid abstemiousness which is observed from necessity by the lower, and from principle by the higher classes of Indian society. The land-tax, which is equal to about twelve millions, may be considered as not much less than the entire rental; while that of Great Britain, though less than a fourth in extent, is estimated at forty millions. Some intelligent writers complain, that while considerable attention has lately been bestowed by the authorities on the improvement of commerce, this more fundamental branch of public prosperity has been neglected. A society, however, for the advancement of agriculture and horticulture, has been formed at Calcutta by a few public-spirited Englishmen. Still more recently, the native landholders of Bengal have united into an association, the main object of which, indeed, is to resist exorbitant claims on the part of the government; but it seeks also to promote other objects connected with the general welfare.

The fruitful soil of India produces various commodities, for which there exists in Britain a most extensive demand, and yet, for the most part, they bear a very low value, compared to the same articles imported from the southern and tropical regions of America. But this unfavourable distinction appears to arise less from any defect in the land or even in the species of product, than from the imperfect culture, and the slovenly manner in which they are prepared for use. Rice there is the staff of life, being used to a greater extent than any grain in Europe. It is the food of every class except the lowest,—the principal harvest of every climate; and its production, generally speaking, is only limited by the means of irrigation, which is essential to its growth. The ground is prepared in March and April; the seed is sown in May and reaped in August. If circumstances are favourable there are other harvests, one between July and November, another between January and

April; consisting sometimes of rice, but more commonly of other grain, pulse, or cotton. In the higher territories, sloping upwards to the Himmaleh, wheat and barley prevail. *Holcus* or millet is also largely cultivated on inferior lands, and as an intermediate crop; and this, with pulse, to which are added even vetches, wild roots, and herbs, constitutes the chief food of the labouring class. In Guzerat some species of holcus are raised to a considerable extent.

Opium, an article produced almost exclusively in the central provinces of India, now forms one of the leading branches of its commerce. This importance is solely due to the great demand which has arisen from China, into which, notwithstanding the most rigid prohibitions and severe penalties, it has been introduced in continually increasing quantities. It is cultivated largely in the provinces of Bahar and Benares, where government monopolize the trade; purchasing the crop before it is raised from the necessitous ryots, at the price of one rupee and a half per pound, to be resold at a great advance. The opium of Malwa, however, is of a superior quality, and the Company had made great exertions to procure the whole of it by treaty with the native powers, and to prevent any part from reaching the western ports by the way of Rajpootana. In 1830, however, they relinquished this object, and agreed, for a certain consideration, to grant passes to individuals, who might convey the article to Bombay. The largest proportion now comes from that province. In 1835-36, when the export from Patna was 9011 chests, and from Benares, 2005, that from Malwa was 15,002; making in all 26,018 chests, valued at 17,106,903 dollars, or about £3,400,000. It remains, however, to be seen what effect the violent steps recently taken by the Chinese government to prevent its introduction, shall produce upon this traffic. It is not imported to any great extent into Britain, which is chiefly supplied from Turkey.

Cotton, being the raw material of the most extensive manufacture now carried on in this country, has become

the most important of all the commodities brought from the East. Even there it is used for the clothing of a large proportion of the people, and the growth of it, if required, might be still vastly increased. That of Dacca, selected for its muslins, is the finest in India, and perhaps in the world; but it is limited to a range about forty miles long and three broad, along the banks of the Megna or Brahmapoutra. Attempts were made to spread it by distributing plants among the cultivators in other districts, but without success. The largest crops are raised in the Doab and others of the Upper Gangetic provinces, from which Bengal is almost entirely supplied; but the best qualities are found in the Nagpore district, and in the vicinity of Surat and Bombay. These, however, have continued to be inferior to the American, being rendered almost unmarketable by their foul state, and mingled with dirt and seeds. Great exertions have been made to introduce a species from the island of Bourbon, which was of long and fine staple, bringing 2s. a-pound, while the Indian yielded only 9d. It was found, nevertheless, that for the finer manufactures, the American kind, named Sea Island, had secured a preference, and that this new import could not obtain a price adequate to the cost of producing it. The Company, in 1809 and 1810, stimulated by the great demand that had arisen at home, imported upwards of forty millions of pounds; but finding towards the end of the latter year, they had fifteen millions on hand, they resolved to limit their operations. Attempts at improvement continued to be made; but the apathy of the natives, and their repugnance to every innovation, opposed obstacles seemingly insurmountable. In 1829, after the efforts of many years, the consignment was of a quality so inferior, that Indian cotton was given up by many manufacturers formerly accustomed to use it. The Company, however, redoubled their efforts, ordering experimental farms to be formed, and sending out seeds of the American and Egyptian species, also cleaning-implements, particularly the saw-gin, used in the United States. Its application appeared at first completely suc-

cessful, making the cotton at once beautiful and pure; but it was soon found that it cut the thread, and consequently shortened the staple, thus materially reducing the value. Some considered this evil as arising from the unskilful use of the instrument, to which the natives were extremely averse; others ascribed it to the softness of the production itself compared to the American; but it is admitted that the latter suffers also from the same cause, though the dearness of labour in that country makes the use of the machine unavoidable. It was stated also that the foreign plant, as it could not stand the climate, required too much attention. It appears, however, that European superintendence, with an improvement on the native modes of cleaning and packing, has raised the value. The production has accordingly been much extended since it was thrown open to private enterprise and capital. In 1836 the import was seventy-six millions of pounds, more than double what it had usually been at former periods. The following view of the amount during select years since 1782, will show at once the gradual progress of the trade and its singular variations:—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1783	114,000	1810	27,784,000
1789	5,000	1812	916,000
1790	422,000	1815	8,505,000
1793	729,000	1817	40,294,000
1798	1,752,000	1818	86,555,000
1799	6,712,000	1821	10,626,000
1803	3,183,000	1825	21,176,000
1805	694,000	1829	28,148,000
1808	4,729,000	1833	33,139,000
1809	12,517,000		

Silk is another material native to India, and though its actual culture is not so widely diffused as that of cotton, it could probably be produced in almost any desired quantity. Cossimbuzar, Commercolly, and Rungpore, are at present the principal districts whence it is derived. About the middle of last century, as the manufacture of it was rising into importance, it became an object with the Company to render this country independent of Italy. Consignments were easily pro-

cured; but these were found nearly unsaleable, not owing to any defect in the staple, but from being ill prepared and assorted. Without improvement in these respects, it was found useless to continue the import. Some attempts had been made by Mr Wilder previous to 1761, and in 1765 Mr Joseph Pouchon was authorized to erect machinery at Cossimbuzar, with which he undertook to produce silk equal to the best European samples. He succeeded, however, only to a limited extent; so that when the Directors, induced by political circumstances, sent out large orders, their warehouses were soon completely overstocked. Being determined, notwithstanding, to make vigorous efforts to improve the quality, they engaged M. Wiss, a native of Novi in Piedmont, to superintend their works; and under his management the article was so greatly improved, that it supplanted in the English market the produce of Naples and Turkey, though not of Northern Italy. Pecuniary embarrassments induced the Company in 1781 to throw the employment open to individuals; but they resumed it in 1785. The average amount imported between 1776 and 1785 was 560,000 lbs. Soon afterwards, as a surplus was found on hand, they authorized an agent to throw it into organzine. This was strongly objected to by the manufacturing interest; but as it answered their purpose the Directors persevered, only engaging not to work it up into any fully manufactured state. In the course of these operations, it was found more and more impossible to induce the Hindoos to adopt any better processes, so that good silk could be produced only in the Company's filature works. Their agents were therefore directed to make the investments chiefly, and after 1823 exclusively, in that quarter, purchasing only the cocoons from the natives. In that year orders were given for 7000 bales, which amount was furnished in 1827, but at a rise of price, which made the invoice value £763,000. The rate was afterwards reduced to its former level. After the renewed charter in 1833, the Directors exposed their filatures to sale; but private adventurers were not seemingly pre-

pared to take up the trade, and the greater part were, in 1836, still left in their hands. They therefore continued the fabric, but on a more limited scale. In these circumstances the produce appears to have very little increased; as while, in 1829, the public and private trade together amounted to 1,387,700 lbs.; in 1836 it was only 1,450,000 lbs. In 1837-38 the export from Bengal was 465,000 lbs. It is probable, however, that as the investment of British capital increases, this important object will receive suitable attention. The following table exhibits the successive produce at different periods:—

Years.	lbs.	Years.	lbs.
1792	401,400	1829	1,387,700
1795	392,500	1830	1,186,100
1800	454,600	1831	1,094,800
1805	835,900	1832	956,400
1810	584,700	1833	750,900
1815	802,200	1834	810,600
1820	1,071,400	1835	727,500
1825	919,400	1836	1,450,000

Sugar is an article very extensively raised and consumed in India, chiefly in the form of sweetmeats, a favourite luxury in every family that can afford them. The whole quantity used has been estimated at 480,000 tons; and it is grown chiefly in the upper part of the valley of the Ganges and in Guzerat. Some consider the cane inferior as to the quality of the saccharine matter; but well informed persons conceive that, with the application of British skill and capital, sugar every way equal to the West Indian may be produced. That used by the natives consists mostly of a foul mass, in which the molasses are still included; and only a certain portion is manufactured in a state imperfectly granulated. The variety drawn from different species of the palm is preferred in the south of India, being less costly, though coarser. The English could prepare the article so much cheaper and better than any now in the markets of the East, that it would be easy for them to supply the whole of Asia, where the consumption is probably not less than a million of tons. Considerable exertions have already been made; the Otaheite cane,

considered decidedly the best, and generally grown in the West Indies, has been introduced. The capital required is somewhat large, since the machinery requisite to the production of an annual value of £10,000 costs £20,000, while to raise the same amount in indigo, only £1000 outlay is necessary. The most important establishments are those of Mr Blake at Dobah, which, on returning to India, he sold for £120,000. A native work quoted in a late Asiatic Journal asserts, with probably some exaggeration, that three-fourths of Bengal are now supplied from English factories.

Tobacco was not originally raised in India. As soon, however, as the Europeans, who had found it in America, introduced it into the East, the singular fascination which this leaf possesses rendered it an object of attention among the inhabitants. It soon came into general use; and, being well fitted to the soil, was cultivated in every quarter to the full extent of the demand in the native provinces, though without having ever become an article of exportation to this part of the world.

Another product of the very highest importance in a commercial view, is one that has been raised to its present height entirely by European skill and capital; this is *indigo*, which, from its value as a dye, commands a sure sale in all the nations of the west. Although, as the name implies, it was originally an Indian commodity, the supply, for several centuries after the discovery of America, was drawn almost wholly from that continent; but within the last thirty years a number of enterprising individuals have extended its culture in Bengal, and upwards along the alluvial tracts bordering on the Ganges. This project was originally undertaken by the Company, at a time when the inferiority of the plant to that of Mexico and the West Indies was so decided as to exclude it altogether from our market. In 1779, they began to import; but though a great improvement was soon effected, such a heavy loss was sustained, as determined them to leave the trade in the hands of their servants. The latter were encouraged by advances secured on the

crops, varying from £19,000 in 1791 to £137,000 in 1795; but these were discontinued in 1813. It may be noticed, that in 1806 the Company recommenced a purchase to the extent of three lacs (£30,000); but they were soon far outstripped by the private adventurers. These last carry it on through the medium of the ryots, who are induced to engage in it by the assurance of a sale, and in almost every instance by advances upon the crops. Some individuals have 6000 or 7000 cultivators constantly engaged in supplying them with this vegetable. The return is precarious; but the average produce of Bengal is estimated at nine millions of pounds, produced on about a million and a quarter of acres, while about 400,000 pounds, but of inferior quality, are derived from Madras. The planters laboured at first under heavy inconvenience from the operation of a law which prohibits all but natives from holding land even under a zemindary tenure; being thus obliged to occupy it under the name of Hindoos, upon whom they became in a great degree dependent. Of late, however, they have been allowed, for this and other purposes, to possess farms on very long leases. At first they bought from the labourers the juice of the plant, called *fæcula;* but the Hindoos were found to conduct even the process of extraction in so slovenly a manner, that the substance could never be thoroughly purified so as to form the best indigo. It has become customary, therefore, to receive the plants themselves, and have the whole process performed by Europeans. Mr Ramsay represents the condition of the ryots in some districts as much deteriorated by being employed in this manner; but it is not easy to perceive how such an effect can be the result of so prosperous a branch of production. Mr Harris and Mr Crawfurd assert that the Bengal peasantry engaged in it are in decidedly better circumstances than the rest of their countrymen, and the latter gentleman states that the lands have doubled or trebled in value.

Bengal produces another valuable dye, the lac, much used in the absence or high price of cochineal. The

resinous part, entitled shell lac, is the form in which it has of late been chiefly preferred. The export is increasing, and in 1837 amounted, as will be seen, to the sum of £150,000.

Pepper is likewise an important object of Indian agriculture. This spice, for which there is such a general demand, is raised amid the wooded hills of Malabar and Canara. Munro describes the pepper-gardens as formed in the deepest glens, shaded by mountains and dense forests, and as appearing only like specks in the wilderness by which they are surrounded. The produce of Malabar is considered superior to that of Sumatra, as well as of all the other islands. It is exported in the two states of black and white, a distinction which arises from the different modes in which it is prepared.

Saltpetre is another article of which Bengal, from some peculiarity in its climate, enjoys nearly a complete monopoly; being particularly abundant in the province of Bahar, and giving value to arid and steril soils unfit for cultivation. The discovery in South America of entire nitre or nitrate of soda has recently occasioned some rivalry in the market; yet neither this, nor the cessation of war, which must lessen the demand for it as one of the ingredients of gunpowder, has prevented its continued increase. Forty years ago the exportation amounted to little above 7000 tons; in 1829 it was estimated at 14,000 tons, value £160,000; while in 1838 it is stated at nearly 18,000 tons, valued at £263,000.

Wool was an article always produced, though, till lately, of very inferior quality; but in the territory of Bombay it has been remarkably improved. In 1832 there were only 69,944 lbs. exported; in 1836 the amount rose to 2,444,019 lbs. In the same quarter coffee has of late become an extensive object of culture, and also of export.

Another object, yet only in prospect, has excited a strong interest, and raised considerable hopes. That *tea* might be produced in India, a country in situation

and soil so similar to China, had long appeared probable. On the 24th January 1834, Lord Bentinck issued a minute authorizing the formation of a committee to consider the most promising localities, and take proper measures for introducing plants, and engaging the services of Chinese cultivators. After consulting various authorities, particularly Dr Wallich, the gentlemen named for this purpose came to the conclusion, that "the best tea is produced between the 27th and 31st degrees of north latitude, at a considerable distance from the sea, where the face of the country is hilly and even mountainous, but at no great elevation on those hills, in their southern aspect; where the cold of winter descends to the freezing point, and snow falls, but does not lie long on the ground; where rain prevails in March and April, and falls heavily in July and August; and where the soil is light and gravelly, and formed of disintegrated rocks of sand and granite." The absence of these requisites seemed sufficiently to account for its failure at Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, almost under the equator, where the infusion of the leaf, according to Dr Wallich, was even nauseating and slightly emetic. At Rio Janeiro, it had been produced of good appearance, but the flavour bad. The trials made in Java were believed by that eminent botanist to be equally fruitless, though somewhat different accounts have been given; and guided by these facts, there appeared no ground to expect that the plant would flourish on any part of the great plain of India. The most promising situation appeared to be the southern slope of the Himmaleh, at a moderate distance above the plain; the only apprehension being confined to a probable excess of moisture.

While the committee were engaged in these speculations, they were delighted by the intelligence, that the tea-plant, in its native state, and extending over a wide range of territory, had been found in Assam, a district ceded to us at the close of the Birman war. It is situated on the range of mountains which separate

that country from Cachar, and extends in fact into the Chinese tea-provinces of Sechuen and Yun-nan. Captain Jenkins and Lieutenant Charlton, employed on that frontier, had made the discovery, and sent specimens, which the best botanists pronounced to be genuine. Dr Wallich was immediately despatched thither, and in the course of two months, which he devoted to a careful examination of the country, discovered extensive jungles or forests of tea.

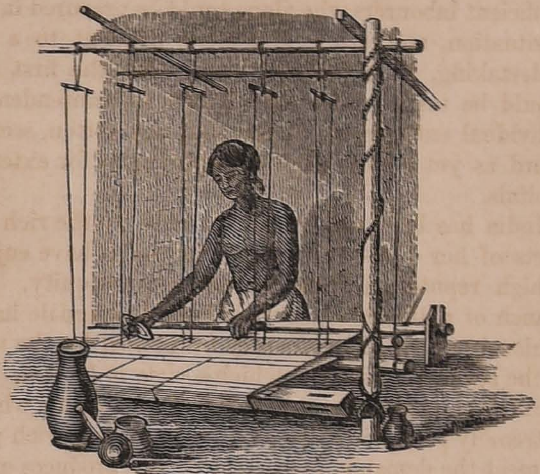
Upon his report, it was determined by government to commence operations by purchasing and enclosing several detached spots, and placing them under a systematic course of management. Mr Bruce, recommended by Dr Wallich for his active zeal and conciliatory demeanour towards the natives, was appointed superintendent. No difficulty was found in making arrangements with the native chiefs, and procuring land fitted for the purpose; and Mr Bruce, in prosecuting his search, discovered many additional tracts on which the plant grew. The effects produced by the tea, with the soil and surface on which it flourished, afforded some ground for the conclusion that it belonged to the green species. This was embarrassing, as two Chinese, who had been induced to go to Assam, were from the country where bohea only is prepared, by a quite different process. The tea-makers, however, on arriving at the place, were entirely satisfied with the trees, declaring them to be the same as those of their own district. This discovery appeared the more important, since boxes of plants sent to Mysore, the Nhilgerries, and other mountainous tracts, were reported to have totally failed. Indeed, after a country had been found in which tea was produced, native and abundant, there appeared no reason to conclude that any other could possess equal advantages. Mr Griffith, it is true, in an elaborate paper, endeavoured to prove that the tree of Assam, being in a wild state, could not, till after long and laborious culture, produce the delicate leaf imported from China. It was only, therefore, by introducing

the plant from that empire, where art had been long employed in improving it, that a good sample could, in any reasonable time, be expected. This transportation had accordingly been attempted, but as yet without success. Meantime, however, a quantity of tea, prepared under Mr Bruce's superintendence by the two Chinamen, was transmitted by the agent Mr Jenkins, with an opinion, that notwithstanding the judgment just stated, it was a "good, wholesome, and marketable article." It had indeed been prepared in the manner of black tea, while there was still much ground for supposing it really of the green species; but the question whether the two be actually distinct remains in a curious state of uncertainty. About the same time that the packages reached the capital, arrived also from China a party of green tea manufacturers, engaged with the view of proceeding to Assam. They assisted in packing up the specimens for Europe, but it does not appear that they formed any opinion as to the nature of the leaves thus prepared. They proceeded afterwards up the country; but as they arrived too late for the harvest of 1838, some time must elapse before the result of their operations can be known.

The committee, after rejecting whatever part of the tea had been in any degree damaged, packed the remainder in twelve large boxes, which were embarked on the 17th May 1838. Before the end of the year they arrived in London, and excited a strong sensation in the mercantile world. The opinions formed of the quality have somewhat varied; but, upon the whole, it was regarded as very fair, and, considering the disadvantages under which it had been prepared, as affording a good promise. Proposals were even issued for a company, with a capital of half a million, to undertake the culture; but this scheme has not found favour in the eyes of the public. It must indeed seem premature, until the researches, so laudably pursued by the Company, shall be brought to a conclusion. Even then, considering the distance from the coast, the rude and

inefficient labourers who alone could be procured in such a situation, and other difficulties incident to a new undertaking, it is perhaps better that the first steps should be taken under the vigilant superintendence of individual enterprise. Sugar, silk, and cotton, seem to afford as yet a more eligible employment for extensive capitals.

India has been celebrated not only for the rich products of her soil,—her manufactures also have enjoyed a high reputation from the earliest antiquity. This branch of national industry, as Lord Lauderdale has ingeniously shown, is materially influenced by the wants of the several classes into which society is divided. That country contains a great number of inhabitants who are extremely poor, and a few who are immensely rich; and to meet the demands thus created, she produces on the one hand a great mass of coarse fabrics, and on the other, a small quantity that are exquisitely fine. To exhibit themselves in splendid robes is a favourite object of oriental luxury: accordingly, the labours of the loom had reached a perfection to which those of no other country except Britain, and that very recently, could make even an approach. The delicate and flexible form of the Hindoo, the pliancy of his fingers, and the exquisite sense with which they are endowed, even his quiet indefatigable perseverance, all render him peculiarly fitted for this description of employment. The muslins of Dacca in fineness, the calicoes and other piece-goods of Coromandel in brilliant durable colours, have never been surpassed; and yet they are produced without capital, machinery, division of labour, or any of those means which give such facilities to the manufacturing skill of Europe. The weaver is merely a detached individual, working a web when ordered by a customer, and with a loom of the rudest construction,—consisting sometimes of a few branches or bars of wood roughly put together. As there is no expedient even for rolling up the warp, the loom must be kept stretched to its full length, and becomes so inconveniently large, that it



Tantee, or Weaver at his Loom.

cannot be contained within the hut of the manufacturer, who is therefore compelled to ply his trade in the open air, where it is interrupted by every vicissitude of the weather. That, in an art which such pains have been taken to carry to the highest perfection, no attempt should have been made to improve the machinery, and to remedy the most obvious inconveniences, is a striking example of that blind adherence to ancient usage, which forms so prominent a feature in the Hindoo character.

The silk manufacture is also of great antiquity in India, and carried to considerable perfection, though not nearly equal to that of cotton. Bandanas and other handkerchiefs, crapes, and taffetas, are the forms in which it is chiefly produced. The shawls of Cashmere, made from the wool of a species of goat, constitute an exquisite fabric, which bears a high price in every quarter of the world; but it belongs only in part to Hindostan, being worked on its northern border, and consisting of a material entirely furnished by Tartary and Thibet.

The use of gold, silver, and precious stones, forms another object of Indian ostentation. To her princes

and great men no present is so acceptable, and no expense is spared in obtaining them. Besides being the instruments of his pomp, they serve as a convenient means for hoarding up wealth; and hence, as his jewels are an important part of every prince's treasure, they are regarded as public property. On this account there arises a demand for ingenious workmen in gold and silver, as well as for such as excel in the cutting, polishing, and setting of precious stones; and all these operations are performed with superior skill. Yet here, too, the instruments are extremely rude and defective. The ground is the workman's bench; his hands and feet the vice, and his tools are only some misshapen pieces of iron. He carries on his trade in an ambulatory manner, waiting till he is sent for by a customer; when, packing up his little set of implements, he hastily obeys the summons.

The demand for the fine muslins and calicoes of Hindostan has within the last fifty years greatly diminished. These branches of industry have been deeply affected by the fall of so many powerful sovereigns and splendid courts, where alone remunerating prices could be obtained. The astonishing success with which they have been imitated by several nations of Europe, and particularly by Britain, has also very much reduced the quantity brought into this part of the world, and made them be regarded as little more than objects of curiosity. Nor is this all. The fabrics of Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley, by the superior cheapness which they combine with their excellence, have superseded on their native soil the finest which India can produce. The only cloths that now meet a sure sale are those coarse cotton robes woven in almost every village for the use of the great body of the people.

The monetary system of India presents some striking features, which have been well explained by a recent writer.* The currency over all the country consists of

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* Sketch of the Commercial Resources and Monetary and Mercantile System of British India. 8vo. London, 1837.

rupees, a silver coin, subject in value to many local variations; but the Company, by a judicious arrangement made in 1835, has reduced them all to one uniform standard, the "Company's rupee," equal to that formerly current in Bombay, Madras, and Furruckabad, and to $\frac{15}{16}$ths of the Calcutta sicca rupee, being worth nearly two shillings sterling. Bullion was long the chief and still is a large article of import. In the ten years ending with 1824, the amount brought into Calcutta alone exceeded twenty-three millions sterling. As there are no safe places of deposit, while avarice is a prevailing passion, the hoarding or burying of treasure is extremely common. Almost all the princes and great men are ambitious to accumulate gold and silver. The strongholds of the zemindar of Benares, a subordinate officer, contained nearly £250,000, and Bhurtpore not less than £900,000. Specie is often melted down into ornaments for females and children, which, however, sometimes cost them their lives. Paper money, which does not exist at all among the natives, is employed only on a very small scale even by Europeans; and yet banking in certain branches is an extensive occupation. One of its functions is to transmit money by bills of exchange, called *hoondees*, which are very well managed by the native bankers, or *shroffs*. All small payments are made in copper, or in the shells called cowries, of above 5000 to a rupee, the furnishing of which occupies a numerous class of holders or money-changers. They sometimes carry shells to the value of £15, which form a load for an ox, to market in the morning, give them in change for rupees, and at the end of the day receive the cowries in return. They levy on the transaction 1-36th, which, it is supposed, may yield them in the year 300 per cent.; but this is in a great measure a recompense for their time and labour.

The main source of profit, however, among the native bankers, arises from making advances, which through poverty and improvidence, are wanted even by the humblest

cultivator. In transactions with persons in good credit, the ordinary rate of interest is nine per cent.; but a much higher charge is made on loans to the agricultural population. It has been already noticed, that almost every ryot, at the beginning of the season, receives on credit seed-corn and subsistence till the next harvest, the produce of which goes into the hands of the money-lender. He has usually, indeed, an account-current against him, which is never fully cleared off; and the interest is charged at the ruinous rate of at least forty per cent. The zemindars also are obliged to have recourse to them, paying from 24 to 30 per cent. These usurious exactions are accompanied, and indeed occasioned, by the risk of entirely losing the principal; but when this is avoided, and a large business carried on, most enormous fortunes are accumulated by the bankers. Several in Calcutta, Benares, and other large cities, are supposed to be worth about a million sterling.

The banking business, in the hands of British subjects, has presented some peculiar forms and undergone considerable vicissitudes. For a long time it centred entirely in six great houses favoured by the Company, or at least by the restrictions imposed upon the general settlement of Europeans. The partners in most cases had belonged to the service, and maintained an intimate intercourse, cemented by good offices, with its different members. These lodged almost all their savings in the hands of the bankers, and receiving interest at 10 per cent., were in no haste to transfer the money to their native country. Deposits were thus accumulated to the amount of many millions, for which advantageous investment was found in advances to indigo-planters, shipowners, and other opulent individuals; also by acting as agents, and carrying on mercantile speculations of their own. By these methods great wealth was accumulated; and he who could obtain a place in any of those houses considered his fortune made. But in 1813, when the trade was thrown open to the public, the active competition of private merchants

greatly lowered profits, occasioning even much temporary over-trading, and consequently some severe loss. The bankers, unable to employ with advantage as formerly the deposits which continued to pour in upon them, disposed of them in the form of loans to improvident though wealthy individuals, or in the purchase of houses, mills, ships, and other objects, which could not be made available when a demand for money arose. Yet no alarm seems to have been taken by the public, till the sudden failure of Palmer & Company in 1830. Still this event being imputed to peculiar causes, and a large dividend being paid, confidence was not wholly withdrawn from the other establishments. They continued to struggle on several years, but as deposits ceased to be lodged, and those in their hands were gradually withdrawn, the pressure became daily more severe, and the final catastrophe quite inevitable. Though failure, it was obvious to themselves, could not be ultimately avoided, yet with a culpable recklessness too common in such cases, they studiously delayed the crisis. They raised money in every mode, sold at ruinous loss, and mortgaged all descriptions of property, till at length, when they actually fell, there remained for the general creditor scarcely enough to pay five shillings in the pound. The entire defalcations have been stated at twenty millions, and the loss to the public at fifteen; but a writer in the Calcutta Monthly Journal for February 1838, seemingly on very precise data, gives the following statement:—

Palmer and Company	£2,600,000
Alexander and Company	3,440,000
Mackintosh and Company	2,470,000
Ferguson and Company	3,260,000
Colvin and Company	1,210,000
Cruttenden and Company	1,350,000
	£14,330,000

Of this sum only a fourth, according to supposition, being paid to the creditors, there remained upwards of ten millions of dead loss.

These immense failures were immediately followed by the new charter of 1833, enjoining the Company, as soon as possible, to cease carrying on any trade in India. Thus their annual investment, estimated at about two millions sterling, was withdrawn, which, added to the destruction of the banking funds, entailed upon the mercantile concerns of Bengal a great deficiency of capital. Commerce, however, has an elastic power, which soon enables it to overcome such obstacles; houses were speedily formed, both in London and Calcutta, connected with each other as agents or correspondents; and in consideration of their limited funds, it became a principal object with them to obtain goods on consignment. With this view, the London merchants send round persons whom they term *drummers*, to the manufacturing districts, endeavouring to obtain fabrics, to be accounted for after disposal in India. As an inducement, they guarantee and even grant long-dated bills for a considerable proportion of the expected amount. The goods are then transmitted to the Calcutta houses, who, besides disposing of them, endeavour to procure in return similar consignments from the Indian producers. This arrangement is facilitated by the proceeds of the European sales being left for some time in their possession, and employed by them in making partial advances. A well-informed writer alleges, that the Indian agents hold in their hands almost the whole trade, and the means of establishing a monopoly injurious to the public. It does not however appear that there can be real monopoly in a trade which is open to every one. If the profits rise above the ordinary level, this result, we conceive, must be ascribed to the scarcity of capital, and to the limited number of those who understand how to manage it.

The accommodation now derived from banking in British India is limited, though increasing. The Bank of Bengal, a fifth part of whose stock is held by the Company, had originally a capital of £500,000, afterwards

increased to £750,000, and arrangements have been made for adding either £300,000 or £400,000. Its shares of £400 bear a premium of £310; and it issues notes, which are taken by the Indian exchequer in payment of revenue. The Union Bank, formed chiefly by partners of the lapsed firms, began with £75,000, now raised to £800,000, and the shares of £100 bear a premium of £21. Both, it is said, intend to form branches in the interior. At Agra is one of £200,000, chiefly established by the servants of the Company, while the commercial town of Mirzapoor affords employment for any surplus funds. There is one at Madras supported by government, who draws from it an annual profit of not less than £25,000. There has never yet been a bank at Bombay; but all arrangements have been made, and the consent of the Company has just been obtained for opening one, though with what amount of capital has not yet been stated. It appears that plans had been formed in London for a bank on a much greater scale, with a stock of from three to five millions. It was alleged that this, or even a larger amount, might be advantageously employed in a country where the circulating medium could not be much short of a hundred millions. In fact, during 1838, there was announced at Calcutta a "Bank of India," for which one million had been subscribed, and which was to open on the 1st January 1839. This event has not taken place, and it seems to be understood that the plan, not being supported by the merchants, has proved abortive.

The commerce of India, prior at least to the opening of that with Mexico and Peru, was considered the most copious source of wealth of any in the world; an impression which, for reasons already hinted, was in some degree illusory. Yet Hindostan has always produced commodities of great value and beauty; and though the demand is somewhat diminished, in consequence of the improved state of manufactures in this country, an annual value amounting to several millions sterling, conveyed

nearly 15,000 miles, marks it still as one of the most important objects of British enterprise. Cotton piece-goods, muslins, calicoes, though in a smaller degree than formerly, are still exported. Silk manufactures, as bandanas, crapes, and similar fabrics, form a considerable and somewhat increasing article. Cashmere shawls are introduced in limited quantities. Opium, pepper, and indigo, are commodities in general use over the world, which are chiefly drawn from India. Thrown silk, cotton-wool, sugar, though as yet of secondary quality, are important and improving; while saltpetre, lac-dye, borax from Thibet, and various minor articles, form an addition to the cargoes of our Indian ships. The European returns have always been an object of considerable difficulty. The Orientals, generally speaking, have shown very little taste for the productions of the West, and were wont to require that by far the greater part of their exports should be paid for in gold and silver. This was a circumstance deeply afflicting to the commercial speculators of the old school, who measured the wealth of every country solely by the abundance of the precious metals which it possessed, and looked upon the relinquishment of these as the most ruinous of all transactions. This was a chimerical distress, the grounds of which are now almost entirely removed. The Company, by means of their territorial revenues, and of the remittances from their servants to England, are enabled to supply the pecuniary part of their investments with very little export of bullion; while the private merchants have obtained nearly the same result, by the great quantity of European manufactures which they have succeeded in introducing. Formerly woollens were the only British fabric that could find a market, and the Company even boasted that they sent out these solely on a patriotic principle, and with loss to themselves. At present numerous articles are sold, the most important of which, as already observed, are cotton goods, once the staple commodity of India herself.

The commerce of Calcutta is exhibited in a series of tables, originated by Professor Wilson, and since his departure continued by Mr Bell, of which Mr M'Culloch justly remarks, that "they contain a greater fund of information combined with sound remarks, than are to be met with respecting the trade of any other emporium with which we are acquainted." From this important series we have drawn up the following progressive view of the imports and exports since the opening of the trade :—

IMPORTS.

	1814-15.	1819-20.	1827-28.	1834-35.	1837-38
	£	£	£	£	£
Copper and nails........	196,620	332,441	399,208	254,802	£294,840
Iron....................	37,042	41,899	61,347	41,371	96,154
Ironmongery...........				25,560	18,193
Lead.....................	4,531	28,049	17,695	5,978	18,107
Tin......................	24,769	38,732	34,580	45,618	56,593
Tutenague...............	80,206	87,293	....	....	....
Quicksilver..............	12,516	16,377	2,949	4,641	769
Spelter..................	....	....	119,574	9,080	25,418
Madeira.................	96,150	17,274	15,347	5,496	4,700
Claret...................	55,660	51,224	38,386	16,852	21,600
Port.....................	36,606	12,256	11,126	4,862	4,414
Sherry, Champagne, &c..	....	13,029	41,330	37,699	36,996
Spirits..................	33,240	36,005	50,568	44,898	18,743
Malt liquors............	....	16,039	36,062	24,101	48,009
Woollens................	9,941	94,840	268,516	169,523	94,400
Cotton piece goods......	44,481	225,257	561,404	455,752	632,952
Cotton yarn, &c.........	....	....	188,484	313,786	512,256
Haberdashery, &c.......	18,070	27,392	65,098	28,126	50,562
Books and stationery....	14,705	26,710	47,226	43,004	42,609
Glassware...............	28,840	45,985	97,880	12,752	29,670
Hardware, cutlery, &c..	....	44 294	30,747	27,251	33,731
Jewellery................	....	77,832	68,620	14,848	33,060
Paints and oil...........	....	27,793	37,859	8,946	4,158
Groceries, &c...........	18,053	19,599	40,899	16,526	12,660
Timber and spars........	50,950	15,504	36,274	12,267	45,400
Cordage and coir........	16,166	7,849	17,844	9,594	6,531
Tea and China goods....	46,392	42,277	30,245	36,353	33,927
Pepper and spices........	41,720	145,290	53,980	95,711	73,972
Coffee...................	....	....	....	21,132	9,628
Segars...................	....	....	....	15,413	7,766
Salt......................	....	....	....	6,304	134,901
Chanks..................	....	....	....	13,146	15,460
Sundries................	299,062	260,957	426,508	320,131	567,610
Total....................	1,165,720	1,752,197	2,799,756	2,141,523	2,985,789
Treasure.................	1,076,967	3,901,126	1,352,969	656,873	1,084,161
	2,242,687	5,653,323	4,152,725	2,798,396	4,069,950

EXPORTS.

	1814-15.	1819-20.	1827-28.	1834-35.	1837-38.
	£	£	£	£	£
Cotton piece goods.......	849,560	903,515	275,616	82,310	69,625
Silk do............	....	263,092	251,890	293,082	378,798
Cotton..................	456,066	283,373	326,286	314,613	186,116
Silk	331,271	790,424	855,398	152,304	465,451
Indigo..................	724,934	994,989	1,917,160	809,945	1,124,768
Sugar	211,469	448,390	175,605	279,095	671,891
Saltpetre...............	19,264	185,984	148,799	185,359	263,286
Grain..................	135,956	141,701	246,614	370,064	286,967
Flour..................	....	....	....	13,034	6,429
Opium..................	917,650	606,097	1,210,680	1,079,549	2,129,238
Castor oil..............	....	....	....	17,101	12,544
Ginger..................	....	34,055	2,898	6,432	22,051
Borax	....	26,191	1,847	9,620	9,852
Lac lake................	19,473	16,561	85,288	19,692	40,364
Shell lac, &c......... ..	12,680	20,285	22,036	47,384	109,392
Shawls, &c.............	9,662	26,509	6,689	7,050	16,758
Bengal rum.............	14,454	24,891	840	4,747	7,528
Gunny bags.............	....	38,931	17,200	19,835	38,340
Hides and skins.........	....	....	....	78,861	80,321
Safflower...............	....	....	....	20,583	21,841
Linseed................	....	....	....	16,412	9,120
Sundries................	150,615	149,996	108,657	139,342	197,268
Re-exports..............	233,218	478,146	299,207	221,554	324,959
Total..................	4,086,272	5,433,130	5,952,710	4,187,968	6,472,907
Treasure...............	15,463	664,751	448,099	43,018	31,688
	4,101,735	6,097,881	6,400,809	4,230,986	6,504,595

In these tables, amid great fluctuations as to amount, we observe a general increase, and likewise remarkable variations respecting particular articles. In the imports, cotton stuffs and yarn have been, the former nearly, the latter wholly, created under the free trade; and they form now much the most considerable branches. Woollens have varied strikingly from year to year, without much permanent change. Wine has been materially diminished, and, at the same time, a great alteration of taste exhibited. Madeira, the favourite beverage at the beginning of the period, is now only introduced with the view of being returned to Europe, improved by the climate and voyage. Port, too, and even claret, have been largely superseded by sherry, champagne, and the white wines. Among metals, there has been a s demand for copper, which is the material used b natives in making cups and vessels for water. lead, and tin, have much increased. The tutenag China has been entirely superseded by spelter or which, at a much cheaper rate, answers the same

poses. Timber and cordage fell off during a certain period, owing to the discontinuance of shipbuilding at Calcutta; but the former has materially revived.

In regard to exports, it is impossible not to remark the great diminution in cotton piece goods, which in the first year ranked second only to opium. Silks, on the contrary, have increased, and become much the more important of the two. Raw cotton and silk do not appear augmented,—a fact which may be ascribed to the withdrawing of the Company's factories, while private enterprise has not yet fully supplied their place. Opium, indigo, sugar, saltpetre, lac-dye, have all considerably advanced. The trade in hides did not exist before 1827.

The following table shows the course of business in respect to the countries with which it was conducted, comparing the years 1816 and 1837. The first has been chosen on account of the interval which had then elapsed after the opening of the trade, during which different nations attempted to establish an intercourse with India, which several of them, however, have been unable to maintain:—

	1816-17.		1837-38.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
EUROPE.—Britain	£805,111	£1,380,696	£2,052,833	£2,701,358
Holland	12,192	29.513	....	....
France	13,242	83,299	103,791	221,806
Denmark	583	1,464	....	....
Sweden	....	....	....	....
Spain	....	70,831	3,998	10,673
Portugal	36,763	463,453	....	....
ASIA.—Coromandel Coast	62,840	125,049	87,359	115
Ceylon	4,518	18,995	8,387	5
Malabar Coast	74,515	378,520	170,938	277
Maldives, &c.	16,873	9,673	13,259	4
Red Sea & Persian Gulf	91,079	443.277	85,942	157
China	317,038	1,067,896	122,464	2,054
Singapore, Penang and Malacca	85,949	149,718	187,039	382,
Java and Sumatra	133,436	93,857	1,856	14,
New Holland	5,982	33,850	2 434	32,
Pegu	33,187	15.536	68,150	141,5
Manilla	18,925	125.066	....	....
AFRICA.—Mauritius	61,049	204,643	2,028	154,9
Bourbon	....	....	13,405	55,6
Cape and St Helena	3,365	34,044	5,951	20,1
AMERICA.—South	6,243	169,495	23,639	2,0
North	96,710	599.825	32,321	120,7
Total	£1,879,600	£5,498,700	£2 985,789	£6,472 9
Treasure	3,819,126	16,900	1,084,161	31,68
	£5,698,726	£5,515,600	£4,069,950	£6,504,59

This table, too, suggests some interesting observations. The intercourse with Portugal and Spain, which was at one time very extensive, has entirely ceased. The wines of the former are no longer in fashion, and the activity of British merchants enables them to supply these countries with Indian produce more cheaply than by their own direct navigation. The same appears the case in regard to Holland and the other northern states, except to a small extent with Sweden. France alone among European powers holds a considerable and increasing traffic; receiving indigo, saltpetre, and lac-dye, and giving [illegible]er wines with a large balance in money. The trade has also declined with the United States, which produce no commodities suited to the Indian market, and in exchange for the indigo and silk can give only bullion or goods procured elsewhere. South America again, has fallen almost to nothing. In respect to China, the imports are small and still diminishing, the exports large and increasing. The latter consist chiefly of opium and cotton, in return for which are received tea, ornamental goods, and quicksilver. From the Oriental Islands are imported the gold of Borneo and Sumatra, spices, tin, drugs, now almost entirely through Singapore. From Coromandel are obtained chanks, an ornamental shell much used in temples, cottons, and silks; from Malabar, teak-timber, coir for cordage, cowries from the Maldives; from the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, almonds, dates, coffee, pearls. These different branches have not increased, but rather diminished; and it is stated that a direct trade has been opened between Britain and many of those places with which intercourse was formerly carried on through Calcutta.

We regret that we are not able to give the same detailed accounts of the transactions at the other presidencies, which, however, are on a smaller scale. In the Commercial Tables for 1836 it is mentioned that in 1834-5 the imports into Madras amounted to £977,190 value in merchandise and £334,210 in treasure, in all £1,311,400 The former was chiefly from Bengal, £260,760; Bom-